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JOLLIET GOES WEST

By

STANLEY FAYE

A wagon-maker's son left Montreal in the autumn of the year 1672. He carried with him a store of trade goods. Necessarily he carried with him too a trade permit granted by the new Governor in Quebec.

Twenty-six years old and already experienced as a *voyageur*, or trader, Louis Jolliet had been chosen for a task of exploration. Out he should go, farther than trading voyages had led him or ever had led other *voyageurs*, out to the shadowy western lands of New France, down the known northwestern shore of the scarcely known Lake Michigan, and then on southwestward beyond the farthest Jesuit mission near Green Bay. Still farther he should press beyond the beyond to the rumored great water that Indians called Mississippi. Thus might be opened a way to French conquest in distant lands of the Spaniards.

The Count Frontenac had reached Quebec in the summer of 1672 to act as colonial governor of New France. He confirmed the earlier appointment of this adventurer. In return he received from Jolliet a promise to explore the Mississippi to its mouth, whether that mouth might be in the Gulf of Mexico or in the far southwest, and to return to Quebec with his report in early autumn of the following year¹.

Customary emptiness echoed in the colonial treasury. The precious beaver peltry from which men's hats were

¹Pierre Margry *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1754* (Paris, 1876-86; 6 v.), I, 255

made in Europe provided too little income for the colony, despite regulation of the fur trade through a jealously guarded monopoly. Governor Frontenac nevertheless was planning great things and great expenditures of money for Canada and for himself². He had and would have nothing to spare for paying an explorer or for providing trade goods in advance. Yet trade goods any explorer must have if only for introducing himself to newly discovered tribes.

To the Jesuit suffragan bishop of Quebec the chosen young trader had indebted himself heavily in the sum of seventeen hundred livres for his education, first in Canada as a Jesuit novice, then in France as a maker of maps. Returning to Canada in the summer of 1668 to prepare for his earliest business venture proposed for the following year, he found in his possession only three hundred livres (francs) of his own. From his elder brother and their widowed mother he borrowed nearly five hundred livres. His friend the bishop advanced to him in addition three hundred and fifty-four livres to pay for a canoe load of trade goods³.

In the year 1671 two governmental expeditions went out with trade goods and trade permits in order that beaver skins, brought back and sold in Montreal, might relieve the colonial treasury of expense for outfits. Jolliet had the good fortune in 1669 to set himself up in business under similar circumstances. An agent of the government, receiving payment of one thousand livres in advance, went to Lake Superior in that year to search for a rumored copper mine, and with him as aide the government dispatched the trader Jolliet, to whom an advance payment of four hun-

²Cf. Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac* (New York and Boston, 1894), 231-34.

³Mgr. Amédée Gosselin, "Jean Jolliet et ses enfants" (Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions for 1920*, third series, Vol. XIV), 69-71.

dred livres was made for services to be performed in the intervals of his own trading business⁴.

The two explorers promised that Jolliet, at least, would return to Quebec with their report in the month of September. Yet late in that month the sieur de La Salle, coming to the western end of Lake Ontario on a journey toward the undiscovered Ohio River, met the messenger, empty handed, homeward bound by the lake route that he had been exploring. Jolliet told La Salle that he and his expedition had lacked time for finding the mine they had been sent to seek⁵.

Quebec lay distant a three weeks' journey. Three weeks lengthened into seven. An officer of government in Quebec, writing a report that should go to France by the last ship of the season, could tell only that the explorers had failed to keep their promise and that news of the copper mine could not be forwarded until next year⁶.

In the course of time Jolliet reached Montreal perhaps to claim a valuable cargo of beaver skins shipped eastward by the well known route of the Ottawa River, but in Quebec he had nothing to report of copper mines in return for the payment that had been made to him in advance. His associate explorer, indeed, had deserted duty and had gone on business of his own to the north of Lake Superior. In exchange for the fourteen hundred livres expended the colonial government gained only a fuller knowledge of the western Great Lakes.

The government did not blame Jolliet for this loss of money, or even for his broken promise. Further experience of western waters in the next two years trained the young

⁴Francis Borgia Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928), 119, 129, 137.

⁵Margry, I, 81, 143.

⁶Margry, I, 81.

voyageur for the task that in September of 1672 the new Governor deputed to him. This time, it appears, payment in advance was not offered. No more money was forthcoming from the Bishop. The former Jesuit novice had eaten up his small patrimony. Yet with a trade permit in his hands any reputable man might borrow money. It may be that funds for a far southwestern adventure were raised upon the credit of a trading company that Jolliet then created in partnership with his younger brother (a wagon-maker four years out of apprenticeship) and a *voyageur* of Montreal with whom he himself had gone on a trading voyage to Lake Superior in 1671⁷.

Coming by canoe to the straits of Mackinac early in December, 1672, Jolliet found at Saint Ignace an old acquaintance, the Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette, whom the colonial Jesuit Superior had authorized to visit undiscovered tribes of the West and South. Scarcely could Jolliet refuse a place in his expedition to that priest, whose order had made an artisan's son into a gentleman adventurer. At Saint Ignace the *voyageur* passed the winter. In the month of May, 1673, accompanied by Father Marquette and five employees in two birch bark canoes, Jolliet paddled away from the Straits⁸.

Down the northwestern shore of Lake Michigan went this band as far as white men ever had ventured before them. Up Green Bay they passed to the farthest mission and on up one stream through beaver country beyond which even the missionaries had not gone. They wandered across a portage and launched their canoes upon a river unknown. Southwestward down with the current they swept. Obsta-

⁷*Cf.* Steck, 147, quoting Ernest Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet* (second edition, Montreal, 1913), 135, note 1; Gosselin, 68, 79; Margry, I, 93, 99.

⁸Marquette's journals, 227-29, in Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest* (New York, 1917), 221-78.

cles expected vanished in realization. Easily they came to the majesty that Indians called "the great water."

Down the Mississippi River of their discovery, they floated to a land beyond all beaver country and toward the mouth of the tributary today called the Arkansas. New friends along the great water told them rumors of hostile tribes and of more hostile Spaniards in the south. Despite Jolliet's promise given to Governor Frontenac the adventurers went on no farther in tracing out a road that now they believed must lead to the Gulf, to Mexico, and to the mines of the Spaniards.

So up against the Mississippi's current Jolliet and his companions pushed their way, returning to Lake Michigan by the mild river of the Illinois and the portage afterwards known as Chicago. To new friends along the great water they had given gifts of trade goods. To the Illinois Kaskaskias on the Illinois River the priest from the Straits made a promise to return as a missionary in the following year⁹.

It was the month of August. Far away in the east a trusting governor expected that this time surely a *voyageur* would keep his promise¹⁰. Yet Governor Frontenac, like another officer in an earlier year, was to see the season's last ship sail without the season's most important report. In the Kaskaskia village Jolliet could find more of interest in learning from new friends that he had penetrated a land extraordinarily rich in beaver skins. Here he would learn also of three portage paths from the Illinois to Lake Michigan.

The one he was to follow led northward by way of the stream, almost dry in late summer, that the Indians called

⁹Marquette, 256-57.

¹⁰Margry, I, 255.

Checagou (Des Plaines River); thence it hurdled a beaver dam to the Checagoumeman (river Little Checagou, modern Chicago River), which meandered to the lake. Another path, of negligible importance, struck away from the Checagou to an outlet that, then or later, bore the interesting name of Konamic, or Beaver¹¹. The third wound eastward up to the source of the ever flowing Téakiki (Kankakee River), waded a marshy plain, and toward the northwest went down the river of the Miami country, whose inhabitants long since had been driven to beyond Green Bay by raiding parties of Iroquois seeking beaver for themselves. In and about the deserted portage of the Téakiki beaver might be taken even more plentifully than near the forks where the Téakiki and the Checagou united to form the River of the Illinois¹².

Up from among gigantic sycamores of the Illinois, up past wide spreading maples of the Checagou, the exploring party went at last, despite low water, convoyed by men of the Kaskaskias. It was toward the middle of September when they crossed the northern portage and its beaver dam. They put their canoes into the River Checagoumeman. They parted from Indian friends. Seven Frenchmen traversed alone the few remaining leagues through the prairie to where, at the southern point of a green oak forest, the little river gave them to Lake Michigan. Eastward they looked to a green horizon of water such as last they had beheld on entering Green Bay.

Here at the portage of Checagou two leaders bade each other farewell. Father Marquette, with one canoe and per-

¹¹Calumet River. See Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions for 1912*, p. 33.

¹²Map of La Hontan, in Winsor, 352-53.

haps three men to paddle it, turned to the north to seek winter's refuge at the mission of the Bay. Jolliet remained¹³.

"The sieur Jolliet," wrote a political opponent a few years later, "made a voyage in 1673 to the Mississippi River, but it was only in order to carry on trade there, without spending there any money."¹⁴

The trader in fact had finished his exploration before parting from the priest. Now the explorer became again *voyageur*. Forgotten was the Mississippi River; forgotten, the Spaniards and the road to Mexico; forgotten, the distant mines and the Governor waiting in Quebec. With the other canoe, with the other men, with perhaps a scarcely depleted cargo of trade goods, Louis Jolliet turned toward the southeast on private business.

It was the middle of September, 1673, when the two parties separated.¹⁵ Their combined task had been accomplished. Jolliet had promised the Governor to return to Quebec before the middle of November. Time remained in which he might have completed his homeward journey before rivers and lakes should be blocked by ice. Yet experience in the year 1669 had taught him that he might break a promise and delay his return without earning censure from the government. Jolliet tarried in the wilds of his discovery. During the next seven months the rivers Checagou and Téakiki claimed much or all of his attention.

¹³P. F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire Générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744; 3 v.), I, 446. This is not clearly denied by the Marquette *récit*, a text of uncertain origin prepared for publication by Father Dablon, the Jesuit Superior. It is upheld by Margry's text (following the Renaudot MS.?) of Dablon's memorandum of Aug. 1, 1674 (Margry, I, 266), if only ambiguously by Jolliet's own copy, the Saint-Sulpice MS. (Steck, 177; photostat in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago): "this same road (chemin) . . . by different routes . . . their compasses (their compass)." Father Dablon's own collateral assertions are mutually contradictory; cf. Marquette (*récit*), 257; Steck, 234, 235: "September," "this spring," "this summer."

¹⁴Margry, II, 285.

¹⁵Cf. Marquette, 257, 268.

Inference, even more worthy of trust than a direct assertion that has survived¹⁶, reveals that Jolliet first rounded the foot of the lake to the mouth of the river of the Miamis (St. Joseph River, Benton Harbor, Mich.). The result of such a journey is recorded in his own map. No less than for his future rival, the sieur de La Salle, the portage to the Téakiki as well as beaver dams hither and yon held a special interest for Jolliet and for what may have remained then unpaid of his account with the Bishop.

From the mouth of the Checagoumeman the travelers had seen the great lake stretching eastward to an unbroken horizon. How wide was that lake? What lay beyond? A map just published in France by the Jesuit fathers¹⁷ had suggested the eastern shore as trending southward from a point scarcely west of the Straits. Stories that Indians, it may be, had brought more recently to the missionaries told of a shore line trending far southwestward from the Straits, then south, then in a southeasterly swelling curve and a returning arc to the mouth of the portage river that Jolliet was leaving¹⁸. Around the foot of the lake went Jolliet paddling to see for himself.

Jolliet's reports and Father Marquette's journal quote southern latitudes with some degree of accuracy. Jolliet was a man of the people, energetic in body rather than in mind, educated above his original station by the Jesuits to be fairly competent in the profession of cartographer that afterward he adopted. Although he had no means of estimating longitude except by daily reckoning, he had been carrying probably, like his fellow explorers, an astrolabe for observing latitude. Certainly he carried a compass and

¹⁶Claude Charles Le Roy Bacqueville de la Pothérie, *Voyage de l'Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1723; 4 v.), II, 131.

¹⁷Winsor, 208-09.

¹⁸"Marquette's map," in Winsor, 249.

found use for it¹⁹. Collecting data for service in a map, he made the traveler's daily record of distances and directions of travel. Not only on the rivers would he make such records, but also on a journey eastward past the beaches and dunes and bluffs that shine around the foot of Lake Michigan.

Only to the mouth of the eastern portage river did Jolliet push his lake voyage in the young autumn of that year. Beyond the river's mouth he saw the bluffs of the lake shore trending northeast by north, much as most recently the shore had been described to the missionaries. Jolliet granted to himself no further discoveries on green water. The *voyageur* was searching for a portage and for the river Téakiki. He was seeking a rumored country such as *voyageurs* and beaver hunters had seen only in visions and in dreams. He was looking for the marshes of the Téakiki, four thousand square miles of drowned and half-drowned land. There, innumerable like lodges of muskrats, the lodges rose of innumerable beaver²⁰.

Up the River of the Miamis Jolliet paddled and pulled and carried his canoe. The map that one year later he was to make in good faith shows the curving course of that stream as Indian reports might not have described it. Also it shows the wet plain of the portage, but it does not show there the River Téakiki. Jolliet, with the scientist's devotion to his science, put on his map what he had seen for himself or reasonably confirmed at second hand, and nothing else. Since he was intending a return to the Téakiki-Checagou forks, it is reasonable now to assume that he and his French companions hunted through leagues of wet

¹⁹*Cf.* Margry, I, 266.

²⁰*Cf.* La Salle, in Margry, II, 170; Frank Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe* (U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, 1899), 332, 336, 506, and map, 341; G. W. Pickels and F. B. Leonard, *Engineering and Legal Aspects of Land Drainage in Illinois* (Illinois State Geological Survey, Bulletin 42, Urbana, 1929), 90-99.

prairie for a current that would carry them westward. They hunted without avail.

Six years later in a frozen December the companions of Jolliet's successful commercial rival, the sieur de La Salle, hunted desperately for that same outward flowing current and in desperation found it²¹. But Jolliet made his search in Indian summer, and he was not La Salle. Time was left him to go back along the lake shore the way he had come and to travel by the Checagoumeman and its portage and the River Checagou southwestward to the mouth of the stream whose source he had not found. On this journey of return, it may be thought, astrolabe and compass were stored away since need would not present itself for duplicating a record already made.

Oak forest still had been green in mid-September when Louis Jolliet had parted from Father Marquette at the mouth of the Checagoumeman. Seventy-three leagues of lake and river he would twice traverse before his canoe might approach the faded oaks of that portage, might point itself westward out of deep water into the channel that led toward the western headwaters of the Illinois. There was no need of haste. The season had advanced too far for exploration, not far enough for ice or for beaver skins. It may have been in the early days of November, when the season's last reports were leaving Quebec for France, that Jolliet looked eastward to a horizon grey with haze. Then westward toward winter quarters he turned his canoe. Gaunt maples and ghostly sycamores welcomed him soon to the beaver country again²².

Below and above the meeting of two rivers a succession of tribes maintained throughout the decades a succession of

²¹Hennepin, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, I, 69-71. Cf. Margry, I, 463.

²²Cf. Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-89; 8 v.), IV, 179, note.

villages²³. From one village about one league below the Téakiki-Checagou forks Kaskaskias came in January of 1675 bringing gifts to Father Marquette, winterbound and ill in his camp on the Checagoumeman²⁴. In the year 1680 their village was recorded anew²⁵. Once and again before the end of the century Piankeshaw Miamis built their fires there²⁶. More than a hundred years later the train of light soil at the mouths of the Du Page and the little *rivière aux Sables* yielded corn for a tribe known to the garrison of Fort Dearborn²⁷.

On the Checagou, about one league and a half above its junction with the Téakiki, Father Marquette's messenger in December of 1674 found the cabin of Jolliet's next successors "in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer, and turkeys," and, as the priest did not add, for trading in beaver. Those two *voyageurs* were occupying in the winter of 1674-75 a shelter that the *voyageur* Jolliet and his men may have built for themselves in the autumn of 1673. It was there or thereabouts that Jolliet passed all or part of his one winter's season in the Illinois country, not far from the point where for the second time he saw the mound that thenceforth has borne his name.

Until shovels cut down that mound in the late nineteenth

²³At Au Sable and Du Page river mouths, near Channahon, Ill. Cf. Carl O. Sauer, *Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley and History of Development* (Illinois State Geological Survey, Bulletin 27, Urbana, 1916), 145.

²⁴Marquette, 266-67. The missionary quotes distances, in terms of the post league of 2,000 toises, or 2,422 English statute miles, as estimated by his boatman and the traders. Cf. distances on the Des Plaines and its diversion channel, on map, Illinois Waterway System, Mississippi River to Lake Michigan (U. S. Engineers, First District, Chicago, August, 1932).

²⁵E. O. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), 97.

²⁶"Franquelin's map of 1684," in Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1902); Charles Henri de Tonti, sieur de Liettes, *Mémoire concernant le Pays Illinois* (Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, MS. copy of the original MS. of 1705), 358 ff.

²⁷Black Partridge's village.

century, Mont Jolliet stood distinctive in the river valley²⁸. A horizontally truncated ellipsoid of earth, it had been deposited by a glacier to which the prairies owe similar sugar-loaf hills. Between the bluff and the river rose the mound, and Indians told about it a story like that of Noah and his ark. More than thirty years after its discovery an officer of La Salle's former colony spoke of the river and of its rapids and of "a place that is called Mont Jolliet." He described the mound and told its myth. Of the late royal hydrographer, who only five years earlier had died as one of Canada's most distinguished native sons, the officer added drily, "This place is called Jolliet because a *voyageur* who bore that name was detained there a very long time."²⁹

The officer did not set a year for that detention, but the year can be set. Jolliet first saw the mound on his upward journey with Father Marquette. The word of a priest survives that that journey was made with the aid of Indian escorts and "with but little effort."³⁰ Therefore on that voyage through shallow waters a *voyageur* named Jolliet was not detained. Jolliet first saw the mound in the late summer of 1673. In midsummer of 1674 he was again in Montreal, and in the autumn of that year the legend "Mont Joliet" appeared in Quebec upon a map to which the explorer's name was appended.³¹

Did Jolliet remain in the beaver country throughout the winter of 1673-74? Inference triply fortified will have it so. Yet Jolliet himself, above his own signature, asserted a year later that he had been making explorations on the Mississippi in both those years.

²⁸Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, XXIII, 84-91.

²⁹De Liettes, 266: " . . . un endroit qu'on appelle le Mont Joliet . . . cet endroit se nomme Joliet parcequ'un Voyageur qui portoit ce nom y fut arresté fort longtemps."

³⁰Marquette, 257.

³¹Map, "Nouvelle Découverte," in *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1900; 74 v.), LIX, 86.

Jolliet came in mid-autumn or in late autumn to his mound. Merely to reach again the great water and to return by canoe with no exploration made there would have required further journeyings totalling two hundred and sixty leagues and one-tenth as many days under the most favorable of circumstances. Before the earliest moment of return river ice would have cut the bark of his canoe. Ice would have crushed birch bark either in late autumn or in early spring. In either season ice would have halted a borrowed Kaskaskian dugout. Moreover, before spring had advanced through many days Jolliet had set his canoe again into the trough of Lake Michigan's waves. Only a winter's journey on foot would have permitted to him a second visit to the Mississippi. No evidence except an assertion discredited by his contemporaries³² even suggests that Jolliet in the winter of 1673-74 added anything to the knowledge of the Mississippi that he had shared in the summer with Father Marquette.

Winter passed in a cabin three leagues or so from his mound would give leisure to Jolliet for working out his records into a map of exploration, for keeping a second volume of his diary up to date, and for "engaging in trade there" on behalf of his commercial company in Montreal. In his new country the explorer stayed until early April. He knew that ice in the Straits would block the way to Quebec until after the first of May. Even allowing time for a visit to Green Bay he need not plan to leave the Checagou portage before the third week of April. From Indians he could learn that not until late March or early April would the ice go out of the River Checagou and the River Checagoumeman. Not until then would the trickling Checagou become for a month's time a profound torrent

³²Margry, I, 262; II, 285.

overflowing its portage until only the beaver dam might bar passage from river to lake.

Maple sap was running when Jolliet and his companions began a journey to the north and to the east, with a canoe laden perhaps more heavily than trade goods had laden it the year before. On a day of April the canoe turned eastward in the last quarter league of its passage to the lake. Hot yellow sun poured heat upon limpid river, upon moist brown prairie, upon black oak forest. Gulls and terns flashed sunlight from their wings against the soft blue void of the eastern sky. Out of the east a wind came racing. It bore the chill of blue water.

Out over cold blue water, out over water unbelievably blue now and flecked with incredible white, Jolliet peered into the wind to see the unbroken line of horizon that last he had seen in autumn. He looked upon it with astonishment. Above what had been the autumn's horizon, there shone within his sight the beaches and dunes and bluffs of Lake Michigan's eastern shore.

From Jolliet's own map can be re-created the wonder and the perplexity that were Jolliet's two centuries and a half ago. Observations in a previous season had told to an explorer the true contour of the foot of the lake and the lake's true width, at that point, of fifty English miles. Yet now, in the spring, the *voyageur's* own eyes assured him that the width was only half that recorded distance.

Chicago of today sees magic worked in every April by the cold blue lake and the hot yellow sun of spring. Yet what could Jolliet know of that? The looming of the eastern shore, the so-called mirage that is refraction of light and not reflection, lay without his experience of northern waters in the summertime. Jolliet could not doubt his autumnal records of distance traveled. In the autumn he

had not looked beyond the horizon; for the mirage, common on successive days in the spring and less frequent in early summer, in late summer and in autumn is not seen.

If Jolliet had only just returned from a voyage around the foot of the lake he could have checked his records of direction by other observations of the compass. But now in the spring of the year he had neither heart nor time to make again a side trip of thirty-eight leagues and back. He had no will to trust his canoe to waters where unsuspected bays might lengthen or endanger a voyage up the eastern shore. He could conclude only that his compass had gone wrong in September, that he had neglected the stars, and that the haze of autumn had hidden from him what now through the clean air of spring he saw clearly.

Jolliet may be pictured in the month of April, at the River Checagoumeman, revising his map, already sketched³³, to show a beach of thirty-eight leagues extending scarcely east of a far south and then turning sharply north again instead of following the constant northeasterly trend that his compass had shown him, six months earlier, as beyond the River of the Miamis. His own eyes gave him proof that reports current at the Straits were wrong as they concerned the foot of the lake. Likewise for the eastern shore just south of the Straits he might well dismiss those reports entirely and adopt the testimony of the Jesuits' map.

With a conflict of evidence thus forced toward resolution, Jolliet turned to the north, coasting the dark forest along the lake's western edge. In one or two successive days of travel noon charmed the farther shore again into view. On the next day, with the passing of warm weather and with the coming of northerly winds, white bluffs of remoteness shone into view no more. Jolliet could believe

³³*Cf.* Margry, I, 262.

that at that latitude the eastern shore trended sharply toward the east. Thus the evidence of the published Jesuit map became confirmed in his mind. Thus too he revised his own map³⁴.

On paddled Jolliet to Green Bay and a little way up-river to the mission house by which he had passed just one year earlier. There with the resident missionary he found Father Marquette, ill in body but eager to fulfill the promise given in the previous summer to the Kaskaskias. To his former companion Jolliet entrusted a copy of his journal as insurance against loss that he might incur in his own journey to Quebec³⁵.

The Straits had been one month free of ice when Jolliet entered Lake Huron. Then back he went on the five weeks' voyage³⁶ to Quebec. The month of July was maybe three weeks old when he approached Montreal after nearly two years of absence. As he had foreseen at Green Bay, in the rapids above the town his canoe overturned³⁷.

July was giving way to August when Jolliet came to Quebec, full nine months late, to say that he had discovered the way to Mexico. His compromising two years' journal as well as his map and all his other papers he represented as lost with his canoe above Montreal. Likewise he represented that his boatmen had drowned in the rapids. In Quebec no man might question his word.

Not in that year did Father Marquette's journals reach Quebec revealing that the priest, if not the *voyageur*, had

³⁴Cf. Jolliet's larger and smaller maps, Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 212-13, 214.

³⁵Cf. Margry, I, 257-58, 262.

³⁶Cf. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 305, note.

³⁷Dablon, in Kellogg, 228; Margry, I, 257-70; Jolliet's larger "Carte de la Decouverte," text (extract in Parkman, *La Salle*, 76, note), and the map "Nouvelle Decouverte," text in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 210 (209-11).

finished his voyage at Green Bay in September of 1673³⁸. Jolliet told now to the Jesuit Superior that the voyage had ended in November at the Bay. When Jolliet copied in his own hand the narrative that the Superior had taken down in writing from his lips, he copied inaccuracies of the manuscript, even to the misspelling of his own name in the text. He copied ambiguous phrasings that might, or might not, be read to show that he had gone with the missionary from the Checagoumeman to the mission of the Bay. Adding deception to ambiguity, he copied the word "November," recording in his own hand, but none the less irresponsibly, that his exploration had ended too late to permit his return in the autumn to Quebec³⁹.

If no man in Quebec might question the word of Jolliet concerning shipwreck, no man in Canada or in all New France might question the word or the acts of Governor Frontenac in the year 1674. The Intendant, that officer of government whose duty and pleasure it was to spy upon his one superior, had gone back to France. Jolliet's friend the Bishop also was absent.

During the past months of winter the Governor had imposed his authority upon a rebel hothead who was the most prominent merchant of Montreal. The Governor had entered into a scandalous quarrel with the churchmen, and especially with the Jesuits. One Jesuit priest had preached against Frontenac in two sermons, and in the course of one sermon the sieur de La Salle had arisen mutely but scandalously to his feet in protest to champion the cause of his friend the Governor. Now the merchant was in jail; the priest, under virtual arrest.

The Governor had renamed Lake Ontario for himself and had established on its shore a military advance post.

³⁸Marquette, 257, 268.

³⁹Saint-Sulpice (Jolliet) MS. copy of Dablon's *récit*.

Thence, it was proclaimed, the unruly Iroquois might be ruled. There, it was rumored, favored traders secretly in partnership with a venal governor might steal away fur trade from Jolliet's trading company and the other mercantile houses of Montreal⁴⁰.

So had sprung up in Canada two opposing political parties. To the party of the merchants, supported by the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics in opposition to the party of Frontenac, Louis Jolliet belonged by inheritance, by training, and by interest⁴¹.

Jolliet's thoughts were of beaver; he had yet to learn of politics. He had discovered a route that was to lead a rival across half a continent, from tidewater to tidewater, but of that route he said little. Jolliet quickly told indeed of his explorations along rivers great and small. Yet he babbled rather of the land just beyond the portage of the Checagou, along the river that he called Saint Louis⁴². Jolliet told the wonders of that country to his friends the Jesuit fathers, to his friends the merchants, and to his patron the Governor. Since his journal must remain forever as if lost, it would ill become him to speak too definitely of geography.

Vaguely, then Jolliet spoke of geography, while of the wonders of his new country he spoke lavishly in praise. Among the records of the year 1674 have been preserved his own short reports, written in his own hand; his own copy of what he had told in Quebec, about August 1, to the Jesuit Superior; a similar account that he prepared soon afterwards for the Governor; and the Governor's own report. Everywhere it is told what fish swim in those western

⁴⁰Parkman, *La Salle*, 83-102.

⁴¹Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (Boston, 1877), 54.

⁴²Margry, I, 261-62.

waters, what birds fly in those airs, what animals feed in those prairies and lurk within those woods. Yet in each narrative silence cries aloud like an orator denouncing evil from the rostrum.

All those stories tell of beaver country. Nowhere is there mention of the beaver.

The map of discovery that Jolliet must draw up for transmission to the ministry overseas would consist for the most part of borrowings from earlier maps of the east and the north, with only the lands and rivers and tribes of the new country to be added, from memory. The geographer set himself at work to make up a geographer's big map, much too big to be held easily in the hands of the king. Since none might verify or contradict, he drew as accurately as he pleased, with gross error only as the magic of spring-time had led him to misjudge the contour of Lake Michigan's shore⁴³.

Jolliet abandoned the name "Saint Louis" and gave to the Checagou and the River of the Illinois the still more pious name "rivière de la Divine." In compliment to the powerful minister in France, he named the great water the River Colbert, and that name he gave also to the rich land of "cattle, deer, and turkeys" just beyond Lake Michigan. The great water's tributaries he marked as joining it in properly graceful curves. He made the Ohio appear as another great river coming in from the northeast, but he showed only the Ohio's mouth as he had seen it, and not its unknown course. Without intent to deceive, but rather with intent to emphasize the portage, Jolliet drew the

⁴³Jolliet's first "Carte de la Descouverte" (MS. original in Paris, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Bib. 4044 B 37, Karpinski photographic copy in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago), numbered 203 by Henry Harrisse, *Notes pour Servir à l'Histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays Adjacents, 1545-1700* (Paris, 1872), called "Jolliet's larger map" by Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 212-13.

River Checagoumeman on a large transverse scale, as if it were the wide harbor that he described in words to the Governor; but he preserved the river's forked course and the twists of its outlet.

Jolliet had yet to learn of politics. He had discovered the way to Mexico, but on his map he omitted even what he said he had seen of the Mississippi's lower course. At the side of a big map, then, only of the beaver country he wrote to Governor Frontenac a letter of presentation, which for the most part duplicates the text of a letter that on October 10, he directed to his benefactor and creditor, the Bishop, absent in France. In recorded conversation Jolliet had told of exploration made in far countries and in months unnamed; in the discreet second thought of his letter he asserted that he had explored the Mississippi both in 1673 and 1674. It may not be said what aid the *voyageur* may have asked of the Governor toward gaining for himself a royal grant of the Illinois country that he had discovered.

The Governor long since had learned of politics. The road to the Spanish Gulf now had been opened. Therefore all the way to the Gulf it must be shown with the aid of Spanish maps and of guesswork. Not even the name of the minister Colbert could be so good as the vain Governor's own for naming such a highway to conquest. No name could be better than his own title for naming the rich country of the Illinois. The name "rivière de la Divine" must be changed, if only slightly, to make it appear as a compliment to Madame de Frontenac, who was known among her friends at court as "la Divine."⁴⁴

On a little map the newly discovered rivers must be emphasized by use of a large transverse scale, as Jolliet himself had emphasized the Checagoumeman's mouth, in

⁴⁴*Cf. Parkman, Frontenac, 9.*

order that the King might see at a glance what riches had been added to his kingdom by Governor Frontenac. The uninspired title "Map of an Exploration" must be bettered to a phrase that would mean rather "New Discovery." The enscribed letter must be changed to avoid mention of the name Colbert in relation to the great water.

Ships soon would be sailing back to France with official reports. Time was short, and had been those nine months past. Jolliet knew nothing of politics and political maps. Therefore the Governor's own engineer officer, the Ensign Raudin, would be glad to make up a new map with changes as indicated.

Thus, it may be supposed, ran the Governor's thoughts, though not his words to Jolliet. Thus, it appears, another map came politically into being, small enough to be held in the hand and to be readily comprehended, drawn in the style of the modern advertising folder, splendid, incompetent, dishonorable, fit for presentation to His Majesty himself. It includes the name of the Illinois, but not in a spelling known to Jolliet, to his fellow explorers, or even to the Jesuit Superior. Among its glories appears for the first time the village of the Téakiki forks.

Villages large and villages small elsewhere on the map are marked by the conventional triangle, the sign of the Indian tepee. For this one little village that Jolliet had not mentioned in public the map reserves a special and larger symbol. Here also may be seen for the first time the name of Mont Jolliet. Yet the hill itself is not shown. The name is written against the special symbol. The name of the mound, which is the name of its discoverer himself, is written "Joliet." Within a conspicuous vignette is copied

Jolliet's letter, discreetly amended, with its signature misspelled⁴⁵.

Jolliet had censored carefully his written records and his stories told for publication. It appears that to some trusted but untrustworthy friend Jolliet had told too much and that to Governor Frontenac had been repeated the truth. In 1674, as five years earlier, Jolliet offered a good explanation of his delay in return. The Governor indeed lacked proof that would justify him in denouncing to the French ministry an agent of government who even in his first commission of 1669 had shown himself remiss. A complaint, moreover, made at this time would spoil the dramatic effect of the Governor's report. Now Frontenac must pretend to accept without question what Jolliet officially had reported to him. Next year, with the missionary's copy of Jolliet's journal in his hands, he might act otherwise⁴⁶.

Frontenac could see his own position as secure. Immediately upon his arrival in Quebec he had commissioned this explorer for a task of great importance to the welfare of France. Lacking acquaintance with Canadians, he had accepted the recommendation of a high officer of government since separated from the colonial service. If it should be proved that a Canadian *voyageur* again had betrayed the confidence of the government for the sake of his own advantage, the King and the minister could not hold Frontenac responsible.

The Governor, it appeared, might safely steal for himself the honors that the map of Jolliet had given to the French minister. The explorer would be debarred from protest, fearful lest proof of duplicity might come in a later

⁴⁵"Nouvelle Découverte," in Winsor, and in *Jesuit Relations*, as above. For Raudin as author, cf. Parkman, *La Salle*, 167, and appendix, No. 9. Cf. Harrissee, No. 241, and page xxv.

⁴⁶Cf. Margry, I, 257-58.

year to the Governor's hand. Unless and until Jolliet's position too might be made secure, Jolliet could not dare petition the King for a grant of lands and beaver marshes that he had discovered. Apparently it was to remind the explorer of all this that Raudin marked upon his map the mound and the nearby village of beaver hunters, with Jolliet's name attached.

Now, the maps tell, Louis Jolliet learned something of politics. Jolliet was permitted to put his name compromisingly to a little hill; the Governor was intending the western country for himself — for himself and for his friend the sieur de la Salle. La Salle, the explorer whom Jolliet once had encountered bound on a solitary expedition to the southward of Lake Erie; La Salle, who had come back with a vague and dubious story of having gone down the Ohio almost to its mouth, or perhaps much farther; La Salle, who could and did make as interesting, if not so honest, a claim to far southern discovery as Jolliet himself, and an earlier claim⁴⁷; La Salle, the champion of Governor Frontenac against Jolliet's friends the Jesuits; La Salle was going to France, dispatched by the Governor⁴⁸.

If Frontenac published in Quebec what he wrote in the season's last letter to the French minister, Quebec learned then that the Governor had it already in mind to build one fleet of vessels on Lake Ontario and, beyond Niagara Falls, another fleet that should sail westward, and through a canal to be cut across the Checagou portage, and into the trickling Checagou, and into the beaver country of "La Frontenacie," and into the two rivers also of his own renaming, for the King, for Canada, for New France, for Frontenac, for La Salle perhaps, but scarcely for Jolliet⁴⁹.

⁴⁷Margry, I, 324; Parkman, *La Salle*, 28-35; Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 222-24.

⁴⁸Margry, I, 277.

⁴⁹*Cf.* Margry, I, 257-58.

What Jolliet learned of politics appears on the rejected draft of his map. A hand not his own has inked in the Ohio River in its length and has written along it the legend, "Route of the Sieur de La Salle to go into Mexico." As clearly as a petition in full form, this advice of a mentor recommends: Let La Salle have his great river below the Ohio's mouth; Jolliet desires only the Illinois, and the beaver country of the Illinois.

These two maps bear no dates. Inference still would be needed to say whether it was in late October or in early November of 1674 that Jolliet set about to make up hastily the little map that is the third in this series. If the Count Frontenac was openly now his enemy, the minister Colbert in France might be his friend. The river that Frontenac and Raudin had claimed for the Governor becomes again, on the third map, the River Colbert. In place of the title "La Frontenacie," the title of the minister Colbert again denotes the country beyond Lake Michigan. The "rivière de la Divine" becomes "rivière Divine" in order that none may pervert the name into compliment of the Governor's lady and, therefore, of the Governor. Out go the compromising "Mont Joliet" and the Indian village that Raudin had set at the mound. In order to show that the map is drawn from memory the rivers emphasized as to width flow in their confluences at right angles.

Gone is Jolliet's pride as a draughtsman and as a geographer; gone, his honest devotion to his science. Jolliet adds the Ohio River in its unknown length. Along its straightened course he writes, explicitly so that the King may make no error about it, "Route whereby the Sieur de La Salle went down after leaving Lake Erie to go into Mexico." That his explorations may not benefit the claims of La Salle, at the Ohio's mouth Jolliet rules a horizontal line and below it, across his map and across the unexpressed

country of La Salle, he copies the letter that on his first map he had written at the side⁵⁰.

If no man in Canada might question the acts of the Governor, Louis Jolliet did defy the Count Frontenac. He was safe; rumors were not proof. All incriminating documents remained in custody of that order whose priests the Governor most grossly had offended. The Governor did not even know in what one of the western missions Jolliet had left his journal⁵¹.

Always it has been the privilege of a discoverer to put names to his discovery, and not even a nobleman of France might sign the name of a wagon-maker's son without that man's consent. Frontenac could send his friend La Salle to court, but to court went also the second map of Jolliet. The Count Frontenac had been too greedy; he dared not now send the map by which Raudin had stolen for him the honors belonging to the French minister. Until the native name should prevail, the great water must be known to the world as the river of the minister Colbert and not as the river of the Governor.

In the archives of the French government this map of Jolliet's still is preserved. The map of Raudin came to light last century in private hands. In the first years of its existence in Canada it had served as basis for at least one other map of Raudin's own⁵² and for an uncomprehending succession of Jesuit maps in which "Mont Joliet" and other legends of the spurious original turned themselves at last

⁵⁰Jolliet's second "Carte de la Decouverte"; Harrissee, No. 204; called "Jolliet's smaller map" by Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 214.

⁵¹*Cf.* Margry, I, 257-58, 262.

⁵²*Cf.* Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 215; Parkman, *La Salle*, 167, and appendix, No. 9.

into a "Mountain of Marble, Saltpeter, and Potter's Clay" at the little river of the Checagou portage⁵³.

Jolliet's map went to France, but so too did the sieur de La Salle. Back came La Salle with a royal grant of Frontenac's advance post on Lake Ontario. Only in the spring of 1677 did the King consider Jolliet's petition for trade rights in the Illinois country. That petition, denounced by Frontenac, met refusal⁵⁴. Instead of the Illinois beaver country, the explorer received as payment in 1680 an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence⁵⁵. To the sieur de La Salle, once more in France with a petition, the King in 1678 granted lands and rivers discovered by Jolliet⁵⁶.

Though the King seemed at first to be favoring one explorer above another, time proved how impartial that monarch was in fact. If Jolliet gained only a winter's island, the labors of Jolliet and of his friends the Jesuits in the west had brought to his rival only debts when, by royal decree, the new lands of La Salle became restricted within southerly limits. It was for himself that the King reserved the portages and the beaver country of the Illinois⁵⁷.

⁵³"Jesuit map of 1674" (variously) in Kellogg, 228; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 221; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Vd. 30, "Carte de la Nouvelle Découverte" (Karpinski photographic copy in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago); Thevenot's wood-cut in *Jesuit Relations*, v. 63.

⁵⁴Margry, I, 324, 329.

⁵⁵Steck, 231.

⁵⁶Margry, I, 337-38.

⁵⁷Margry, II, 382-83.

A HISTORY OF SALINE COUNTY

By

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HARRISBURG, ILLINOIS

Saline County came into being by a process of elimination, much like that of cutting an apple into sections. As a county, its history is very short. It is a part of the vast territory claimed by France through the explorations of Jolliet and Father Marquette and La Salle. These early explorers discovered the coal in Illinois. The story they told was that a tree caught fire; after it was burned, the roots continued to burn, and the coal bed beneath caught fire.

The whole territory was, of course, inhabited by Indians. The southern part of the future state of Illinois belonged to the Piankashaws and the Shawanees. The Piankashaws, a quiet, peaceful, non-resisting tribe in the southwest part, were soon driven out by the more war-like Shawanees in the southeast.

The whole section was under French rule until 1763, at the close of the French and Indian War. It is supposed that the French buffalo hunters with Sieur Charles Juchereau de St. Denis had a depot near Stonefort in 1702 or '03—this was about the time a fort was built which was later christened Fort Massac. These hunters chose this spot for a depot so that they might use the Saline River as a highway. Their records are perhaps the earliest, and they tell of the salt springs near Equality. The treaty ending the French and Indian War ceded to England what came to be

the Northwest Territory. After they had taken over the French fortified places, the English continued to occupy them as forts until 1778 when George Rogers Clark in the western campaign of the Revolution captured the fort at Kaskaskia for the Americans.

Clark came down the Ohio River from the east; he and his men landed at Fort Massac, and started across the wild, marshy country to Kaskaskia. They probably struck a little northwest, following a little-used trail for secrecy and not the old Worthen trail which ran from Golconda to Kaskaskia. Clark passed within a few miles of the spot which is Stonefort today, in the extreme southwest corner of the county.

In 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided. The region west of the present state of Ohio and north of the Ohio River was called the Indiana Territory. Nine years later the territory was again divided. This left what was to become the state of Illinois as a separate territory called the Illinois Territory. At this time it was divided into two counties: St. Clair and Randolph. Randolph was the southern county from which twenty-three counties, including Saline, and parts of seven others were formed later.

After the Revolution, immigration from the South and East was frequent. The ferries located on the Ohio had already become bustling river towns, but most of the inland territory remained wild and unsettled until after 1800. A few block houses were built in various places; Equality had a fort and block house as early as 1802. The first settlers in Equality, seven Jordan brothers and a few others, were hunters and trappers and seem not to have attempted cultivating the soil until about 1815. This is doubtless true also of the other settlements. When three of the men left the fort for fire-wood one night, they were attacked by

Indians; and only one escaped. Coleman Brown built a block house near the present location of Eldorado in about 1814. The little valley between the hills from Eldorado to Raleigh was a favorite spot for movers going west and men hauling supplies from Shawneetown, to camp for the night.

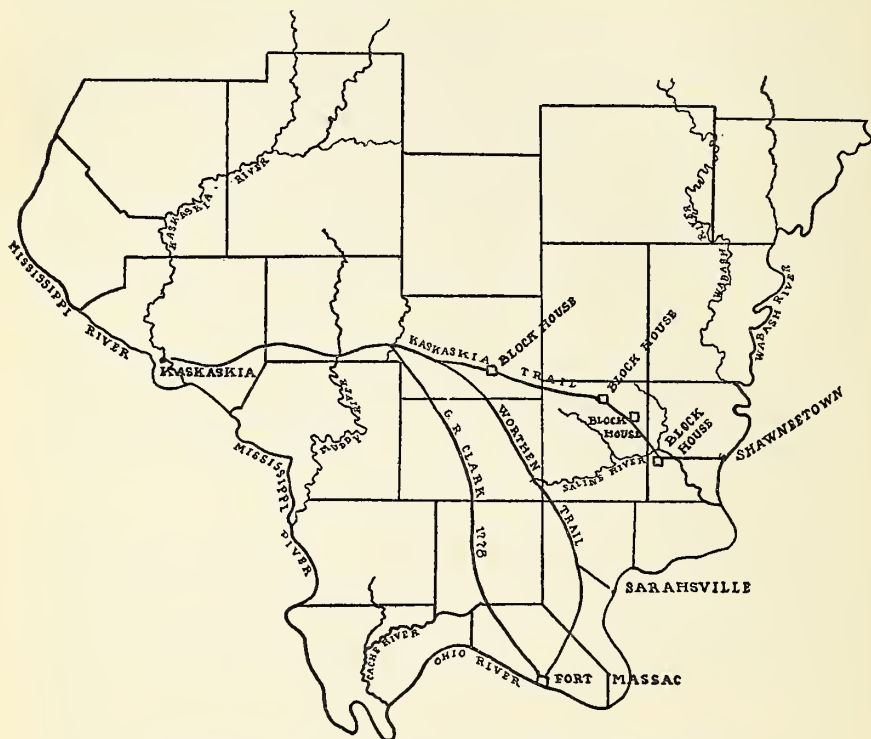
It was early in the nineteenth century that salt obtained from the Equality springs became commercially important. There were two strong springs. One of them, known as "Nigger Spring," "Nigger Well," or "Nigger Furnace," is on the Saline River about four miles down from the present town of Equality. Near it are a strong sulphur spring and a fresh spring. The other salt spring, one mile from Equality near the Saline River, was known as "Half Moon Lick." As far back as there are any records, these salt springs are mentioned. The Indians made salt there; the animals had paths beaten to the springs from miles around, and the region became the center of the greatest industry of southern Illinois, until coal was exploited.

Before 1804 these works seem not to have been claimed by the government, but at that time the territorial government took them over and leased them to individuals as government property. When Illinois was admitted to the Union, they became state property by the constitution and were operated with profit, periodically, as late as 1873. They produced the best salt in the south of the territory, but the most profitable years were those from 1816 to 1843.

Shawneetown had a few log cabins in 1804. It was platted into town lots in 1810, approved as a government land office in 1812, but there were no land entries until 1814. Shawneetown became the leading settlement, the seat of the land office, and was connected with the rest of the world by the Ohio River, so that it soon became the official port of entry and the trading center. Supplies were hauled from there to all the inland villages.

A HISTORY OF SALINE COUNTY

Randolph County was further divided into three other counties in 1812. One of them was Gallatin, containing the land which was to be subdivided many times yet before the last subdivision would cut off Saline. Shawneetown was the county seat and was connected with Kaskaskia,



EARLY TRAILS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

seat of the territorial government, by a trail called the Shawneetown-Kaskaskia trail. It ran northwest from Shawneetown, by the block house at Equality, by the Brown block house at Eldorado, west by the range of hills north of Raleigh to the Karnes block house (near where Bethell's Creek church stands), by the Gasaway block house to Frankfort, then a little northwest to Kaskaskia. Part of this old trail, from Equality to Eldorado, is still used as State

Highway No. 142. The establishment of the first mail route over this trail in 1812 was a hazardous undertaking successfully carried out.

430252

Gallatin County became a county formally in 1812. The few inland settlements were small groups of cabins clustered around a block house or a mill, or both. The block houses were necessary for protection from the savage Shawnees and wild animals. They were large enough to house the whole settlement in time of danger, and the openings between the logs were thoroughly "chinked" to keep the Indians from firing into the building. Sometimes a fort was built by building four block houses in a square. Besides the Indians, there were bears, panthers, buffalo, deer, and ordinary game roaming the woods. The settlers kept dogs, almost as ferocious as the wild animals themselves, to protect them from the animals and warn them of the approach of Indians. The Browns were aroused at their block house one night by the howling of the dogs. They interpreted it to mean the approach of Indians, but there was no attack, and the next morning the only signs were the foot-prints in the frost back of the block house. Another time the men of this settlement had gone to locate their strayed horses. They had gone several miles in the dense forest, when they heard shots; they were alarmed but saw no one. They built a fire, cooked and ate their supper, and concluded to camp for the night. About midnight, aroused by a sense of danger, they heard the click of gun triggers and saw Indians moving through the dark. Unable to estimate the number, they thought it better to run than to stand battle. They reached the block house safely, but with the Indians in close pursuit.

Mills to grind corn into meal and saw trees into lumber were the first marks of civilization. (Wheat was not ground into flour in this section until later when it was introduced

as a local farm crop. Bread made from wheat flour was a luxury to the pioneers.) There is some dispute as to just where the first mill was built in Saline County. There were several early ones: Somerset Township, Mountain Township, Carrier Mills, Raleigh, Galatia, and Eldorado. (The last one built was at Mitchellsville in 1849.) They were operated by water power when they could be situated on a river or creek; most of the others were operated by horse power. Often there was a blade attached to saw lumber. They were very crude machines, but were important in developing villages and making pioneer life easier.

Although the government established a land office at Shawneetown in 1812, for two years no entries were made. The first men to enter land in what is now Saline County were John Wren and Hankerson Rude in 1814. Rude came from Virginia, but nothing is known of Wren. Coleman Brown entered the land which is now Eldorado in 1816. It was during the years immediately following the War of 1812, when the public land of this territory was very cheap, that the flow of immigration into Illinois increased.

In 1818 Illinois was admitted to the Union with the necessary population of 40,000. The constitution made it a free state, but the slavery issue was to grow heated more than once. The population of what is now Saline was not more than ninety families, and almost all of them lived along the Kaskaskia trail. Gallatin County claimed a population of 3,440 at that time. (This figure has been disputed by the government, and it is possible that a considerable number of emigrants on their way to Missouri were included.) The population of Gallatin included eighty-three free negroes and 218 indentured servants or slaves, the greatest number of either in any county in the state. When the question of amending the constitution to admit slaves into the state came up in 1824, Gallatin voted 597 for the amendment

and 133 against; and although it was the greatest pro-slavery majority in the state, it was insufficient to balance the rest.

The largest settlement in the southern part of the state was Shawneetown in Gallatin County which included much more territory than it does today. Much of it lay along the Ohio River, with only the river separating it from slave territory. This probably influenced the slavery issue, as well as the fact that most of the settlers had come from the South and Southeast. The salt works, however, were of far greater importance. They had always been operated by slave labor, and the constitution of 1818 provided for the maintenance of slave labor for this purpose until 1825. The people interested in the salt works used their influence in the Legislature, but were defeated, and the amendment failed. The passing of slave labor crippled the salt works for a time; and many years later, other salt works produced it in such large quantities and so cheaply that these works were closed down entirely. Since 1873 this thriving, busy industry has been quiet; but for many years it was the busiest spot in southern Illinois. The salt water was boiled down; the salt put to dry, and packed in sacks. The pipes used were made of hollowed logs. The old sites can still be distinguished, but today they mean little more than reminders of past history.

In 1832 the Black Hawk War aroused the whole state, and several companies went from Gallatin County to fight the famous Indian chief who was battling for his people.

For ten or fifteen years previous to the Black Hawk War there is little to mention, but settlement went steadily on. In 1823, however, the first school was taught in the county; and in 1832 or '33 the first church was organized; civilization was advancing. The Methodist and Baptist denomina-

tions were always the favorites of the pioneers. The first one in the vicinity of Harrisburg was Baptist: Old Liberty church about three miles west. There is a church there still.

In 1838 the first railroad was surveyed. It was to have been called the Shawneetown and Alton Railroad, but it was never built. When the first railroad did come through, it did not follow this early survey.

By 1839 the negro question was flaming again. It may never have been quieted, but it became especially unmanageable then. There were a number of negroes in Gallatin County. They were the slaves or indentured servants who had been freed or had bought their freedom. Most of them were peaceful, law-abiding people; but their mere presence caused friction. Every crime committed was attributed to them. In 1840 a band of men calling themselves Regulators ranged over the whole of what is now Massac, Hardin, Saline, and Gallatin counties attempting to force all the negroes out of the state. They kidnapped the children of these free negroes and sold them into slavery. When Benjamin Hardin was murdered, the negroes were accused. It was subsequently believed that a negro might have done it, but at a white man's request. Harmless colored people were whipped and terrified in an unpardonable way.

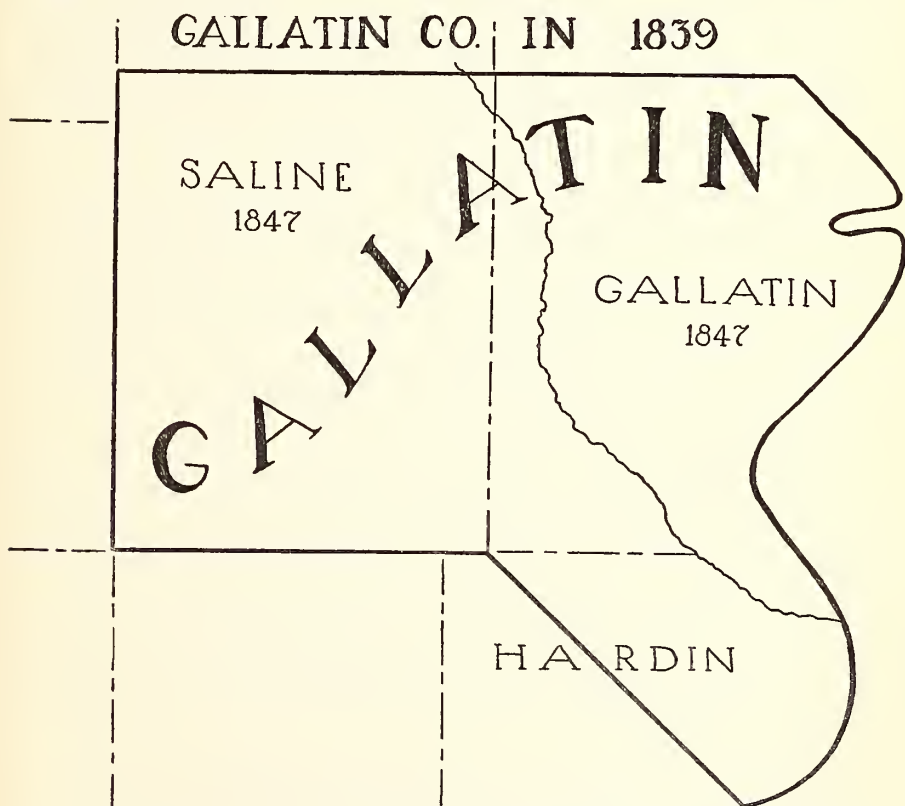
The big house, locally known as the slave-house, which is visible from the state road a little east of Equality, has a third floor equipped with dilapidated bunks, two to each compartment; and there are evidences of chains in the walls. A flight of stairs to the roof provides a look-out. The building is supposed to have been the headquarters of a group who enticed runaway slaves to cross over from Kentucky, seized them and collected bounty for their return. The dates and names of the operators of this bootleg slave trade are forgotten; but judging from other events of the

period, it must have been about the years the Regulators were active.

The greatest opponent of slavery in southern Illinois was Morris Birkbeck, a Quaker of Edwards County, who became famous for his anti-slavery labors.

SALINE COUNTY ORGANIZED

Saline County, named for the Saline River which was named for the salt springs, was cut from the western part



of Gallatin by an act of the Legislature, February 2, 1847. It is an area of 378 square miles or 241,920 acres. Its climate ranges from extreme cold to extreme heat. Since

1899 the highest temperature has been 114 degrees in 1930; the coldest, twenty-two degrees below zero in 1899. The rainfall is abundant, but not always well distributed. The average by seasons is something like this: winter, 23.8 per cent; spring, 28.2 per cent; summer, 27.1 per cent; autumn, 20.9 per cent. The total for the year averages about 44.67 inches.

Only one of six ice advances reached Saline County. It came as far as the South Fork of the Saline River. South of that lie the Ozark Highlands which is the unglaciated region of the county. Loess soil, glacier residue deposited by winds, is found blown over parts of the county to a depth of one to twenty feet. The broad, flat valleys which are the more fertile and productive are preglacial.

The extremes in topography are due to the Ozark Hills. The altitude ranges from 980 feet above sea level at Womble Mountain, to 340 feet where the Saline River leaves the county. The next highest point is Horton Hill in Somerset Township. Some other altitudes in the county are: Bald Knob, 820; Eldorado, 385; Harrisburg, 366.

Relative to the elevation and geology of the county are several spots of interest. Cave Hill near Sulphur Spring is about five hundred feet above the Saline River which flows near the base. The cave opening is a funnel-shaped pit in the hillside. Its passages are narrow and slippery in places, but several rooms are as large as those of a house. The cave is made by the action on limestone of a weak acid in the ground water.

The Old Stone Face is at the top of a cliff commanding a magnificent view of Saline valley near Somerset, with Stillhouse Hollow many feet below.

The vertical layers of rock near Horseshoe are supposed to have been raised by internal disturbances of the earth.

Geologists call this one of the most remarkable features of Illinois.

The whole county is drained by the Saline River and its tributaries. It appears to be mature drainage, and is very effective for the most part. There are areas along the streams, however, which suffer damage from overflows, but are also enriched by them.

The soils of Saline County are divided into four groups:

Upland timber soils, including all the upland areas of glacial and loessial origin, that are now, or were formerly, covered with timber: 55.28%.

Terrace soils, including bench lands, or second bottom lands, formed by deposits from overloaded streams: 5.89%.

Swamp and bottom-land soils, including the overflow land along streams, the swamps, and poorly drained lowlands: 35.46%.

Residual soils, including rock outcrops, and soils formed in place through the weathering of rocks: 6.74%¹.

Several kinds of rocks and minerals are found. The cave rock is marked with limestone, but the stalactites and stalagmites have been broken by cave-explorers. Millstone grit, a conglomerate of reddish-brown sandstone and round pebbles of quartz, superimposed on Chester limestone, lies at the base of the productive coal measures. Such copper as has been found is drift copper, and therefore in no paying quantity. There is clay for bricks and good limestone for building.

Coal, however, is the chief mineral. There are eight or ten geological seams present, all, at least locally, of workable thickness. The older the coal the better. Age used to

¹"Saline County Soils," (*University of Illinois Agriculture Experiment Station Soil Report No. 33*; June, 1926).

be indicated by the number of the seam, but to avoid confusion, the numerical designations have been largely replaced by locality names. The coal is sold as Harrisburg, Illinois Coal. All of Saline County coal and most of the important beds of the state are included in what the geologists call the Carbondale formation. Saline County is fortunate in that all the coal has a persistent black shale roof and a firm floor, but it tilts sharply to the north, and there are numerous small faults in the coal seams. All the mines are mining No. 5 coal (if designated by number) and it varies in thickness from four-and-a-half to eight feet. Sahara Mine No. 12 has low ceilings due to the five-foot coal.

Saline County coal is the best, with the highest B. t. u., of any coal being produced in the state. It averages from 12,000 to 13,000 B. t. u.² It is most like that of the eastern fields. The two best workable beds were originally estimated at 2,712 million tons.

Black walnut, white oak, cypress, hickory, poplar, sweet gum, sassafras, and mulberry are among the many native trees.

The act which formed Saline County called for a special election to decide the location of the county seat. Two sites were selected to be voted upon. One was the grist mill at Raleigh; the other was Robinson's Ford on the middle fork of the Saline River near where the Big Four crosses it, or what is now Muddy. Raleigh received the majority; it was platted into lots, and they were sold at public auction, November 15, 1847. The first trial was held in a two-story log house that same year; the first jail of logs, with a dungeon beneath, was built the following year; and the first court house in 1850. Some of the people living in the south

²Bement, "Illinois Coal" (*Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 56*).

of the county had objected to the county seat being located on the north side, but by 1850 Raleigh believed that it was permanently located there, and built a two-story court house in the public square left for that purpose. Also that year the first newspaper was published in the county but survived for only a few issues. During the years 1852 and '53 agitation was renewed to move the county seat to a central location. If Robinson's Ford had been selected in the first place, the later controversies would have been avoided.

In 1852 a meeting was held at Old Liberty Church, and a committee was appointed to select a town site near the center of the county. The committee finally selected the site of the present business section of Harrisburg. It was then called "Crusoe's Island," because after heavy rains it was surrounded by water which left an island in the center. Five acres from the land of each of four men — Pankey, Yandell, Cain, and Harris — composed the twenty acres in the original plat. It was platted, and the lots sold at public auction, July, 1853. By 1854 there were several buildings around the public square. The first one was a log building used as a store which stood where the City National Bank is today. The county seat was not moved for five years; because, after Harrisburg was laid off and building had begun, a new controversy arose. Another election was called, and those favoring Harrisburg claimed a majority of fifteen votes. The case was taken into court and remained there a long time, but the court did nothing, and finally threw it out. Some have contended that the Harrisburg supporters bought it out. At any rate, in 1859 the county seat was moved to Harrisburg, and Harrisburg was incorporated as a town in 1861. Moving the county seat left the court house at Raleigh unoccupied, and it was sold to the Masonic order at a great loss.

A HISTORY OF SALINE COUNTY

There is a record of political factions and their skillful maneuvers in 1856. The county seat was still at Raleigh where a convention of sixteen delegates met one Saturday to nominate a candidate for the Legislature. Each side had eight members in the convention. Joe Robinson, from the south side, was the chairman.

The north side favored Major Elder; the south side desired the nomination of E. C. Ingersoll (brother of Robert G. Ingersoll). The expected dead-lock resulted. The Ingersoll men concluded that they might accomplish the nomination of their candidate by the subterfuge of a "dark horse." They nominated Dr. Jacob Smith instead of Ingersoll. Elder received eight votes and Smith, eight. The dead-lock continued until near midnight with no hope of breaking it. Joe Robinson, the chairman, voted last with the long, nasal twang characteristic of him. The two party leaders were full of convention controversy and enlivened the occasion to the delight of the spectators. As midnight drew near, some of the delegates grew restless, thinking it unseemly to be holding a political convention on Sunday. They adjourned without making any decision on the candidate or naming a date to finish the business. Ingersoll mounted the rostrum and announced his candidacy for the legislature; Elder followed with a similar announcement. At the November election, Ingersoll was elected by a small majority.

Eldorado, settled near where the old Brown block house had stood, was platted in 1858 and incorporated in 1870. It was named for the two men who laid it out: William Elder and William Reed, and was originally spelled "Eldoredo."

DESERTED VILLAGES

Scattered over the county there are several spots, most of them near mills, which once looked to a future. They be-

came extinct, usually, because the railroads failed to pass through them; and the people moved to be near rail transportation facilities.

Whitesville on the Saline, once a prosperous village, is now deserted. It was named for Benjamin White, who owned and operated the mill located there. Robert Mick, afterwards a wealthy Harrisburg merchant and founder of the First National Bank, laid the foundation of his fortune in Whitesville. His flatboats loaded with freight were floated down the Saline, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to New Orleans. Water transportation was replaced by railroads, and there is little to mark this spot today.

Garris Ridge is another "deserted village" about a mile northeast of Stonefort. It has rather hopelessly claimed the distinction of being the first settlement in what is now Saline County. Sykes Garris and his young bride came through from Kentucky on their way west a few months before Illinois became a state. They camped for the night beside the Saline River. The next day they decided that they had found the spot they were looking for, and started to build a cabin for a home. About 1830 he built a mill. A few other settlers were attracted by the mill, and a small village arose. In 1840 a steam mill was built, and the competition ruined both mills. Steam was a more expensive means of operation, and the owner of the steam mill, looking for a way to improve his own business, learned that the old measure Garris used, made from a block of sycamore wood, was slightly over-weight. He went to Shawneetown for legal advice where he was told that the law viewed over-weight and under-weight as the same offense. A law-suit was started which dragged on for many years. The final verdict was in favor of the complainant; and Garris said, "My day in the sun is over;" but the steam mill may have continued to

operate until after the Civil War. Some of the stones and old timbers of the water mill may still be found in the river.

SALINE COUNTY AND THE CIVIL WAR

There were people in all parts of southern Illinois who sympathized with the South. It is not surprising since so much of it borders slave territory, and many of the people came from the South. Williamson County, west of Saline, exhibited its feeling by formally demanding, after the fall of Fort Sumter, the division of the state and the attachment of the southern part to the South. Saline County did not declare for secession; but the Knights of the Golden Circle, a semi-military organization which favored the Southern cause, were well organized and active. Their methods were similar to those used later by the Ku Klux Klan; they tried by anonymous letters and secret meetings to frighten the Union soldiers and negroes. Dr. Mitchell (the philanthropist who gave the ground for the Mitchell-Carnegie Public Library at Harrisburg) had brought two families of negroes into the county and put them to work on his farm near Independence. He violated the constitution in doing it; and the Democrats, as a political measure, warned him to remove them. He ignored the warning, and the Knights of the Golden Circle did not dare to approach him and enforce it.

Notwithstanding the Southern sympathizers in the county, Saline sent 1,280 men to the Union Army out of her quota of 1,285, and the draft was never necessary. Seven companies of infantry and one of cavalry were almost wholly recruited from Saline. General John A. Logan was in command of one, and they were all in the brigade of General John A. McClernand. Some of the Saline County men were with Sherman on his famous march "from Atlanta to the sea."

STAFF OF THE MITCHELL-CARNEGIE PUBLIC LIBRARY

AFTER THE WAR

The county, like the state and nation, settled down to recuperation after the close of the war. In the two elections previous to 1868, Saline County had voted Democratic, but it supported Grant three to two. The election returns³ from the presidential elections from 1860 to 1872 might be of interest:

1860	{ Lincoln—100	1868	{ Grant—2,835
	{ Douglas—1,338		{ Seymour—1,913
1864	{ Lincoln—765	1872	{ Grant—2,905
	{ McClellan—818		{ Greeley—1,827

By these statistics it is obvious that Lincoln was not a favorite in Saline County.

The years immediately preceding the panic of 1873 were similar to those preceding 1929. Everything was overdone over-enthusiastically. It was at this time that the railroad boom was at its height, and Saline County shared in it. The St. Louis and Southeastern Railroad was finished to Eldorado, February 28, 1871, at the time the road was extended from McLeansboro to Equality. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad acquired this road in 1880. The Cairo and Vincennes (later Big Four) came through Eldorado, Harrisburg, and Stonefort in 1872. (General A. E. Burnside, noted Civil War commander, was one of the early presidents of the Cairo and Vincennes Railroad.) This road did not follow the old survey made years before, and many little villages collapsed; Old Stonefort moved, literally, to its present location. The Belleville and Eldorado Railroad from DuQuoin to Eldorado was built in 1880 in the interest of the St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad Company and was acquired by the Illinois Central System on

³*History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin, and Williamson Counties* 1887, p. 164.

October 1, 1895. The completion of this last railroad into Eldorado made it the intersection of three railroads; Harrisburg had only one.

The little village of Bolton had been settled in 1847 wholly in Williamson County. The old village of Stonefort had been settled in 1858. One log cabin, built on Joe Robinson's land in 1831 and still standing, was the nucleus of Old Stonefort. In 1872 when the Cairo and Vincennes Railroad came through and did not follow the proposed route, but passed about two miles west of Old Stonefort, the town moved. The buildings were moved to the railroad, across the county line from Bolton. The town is now known as Stonefort and lies in the two counties.

Stonefort gets its name from the historic relic near by, called the Old Stone Fort, on the highest point of a hill overlooking the south branch of the Saline River a mile or so east of Stonefort. Whether it was ever used as an actual fort is unknown, but tradition claims it. It is semi-circular in form, enclosing about three or four acres. The walls appear to have been about six feet thick and six high. In lieu of a wall, the back is protected by a steep cliff which drops sixty feet. Within the enclosure is a pile of rocks that may have been used as weapons to throw over the cliff. The trees growing in the wall are as large as those in the surrounding woods indicating that if it were ever used, it was many, many years ago. The survey in 1807 is the first dated record. Its construction has been variously attributed to the Spaniards, the Indians and others; but there are no verifications of any of the suppositions.

Before the railroads came, all the inland counties were slow in developing. The railroads helped, but unless the soil was conducive to the growing of a special crop for shipping, there was little to speed development. Saline

County raised tobacco as one of its export crops, and at one time great quantities were raised and sold. Galatia was the tobacco center of the county. During and for a few years after the Civil War, cotton was the chief export. Saline remained, nevertheless, a backward region until the mine boom came.

Coal outcrops near Equality, Stonefort, and in other places. The first mine was a slope mine near Ingram Hill in 1854. The old Temple and Castle mine in Gallatin County near Equality was operating as early as 1875 and perhaps earlier. The first shaft sunk in Saline County was at the old Newcastle mine, about half way between Stonefort and Carrier Mills, in 1883 or '84. Black Hawk and O'Gara's old No. 9, both just south of Harrisburg, were the first mines sunk near it. All three of these early mines were sunk to No. 6 coal. It was only thirty feet below the surface where Black Hawk and No. 9 were. These three mines have all been abandoned; there is a small pond where Black Hawk used to be. The old Ledford shaft was the first in the county to mine No. 5 coal which is now mined by all the shaft mines in the county.

These mines and others were operating, but there are no statistical records of the individual mines prior to 1904. The reports to 1903 were all grouped together making a total output of 2,045,135 tons produced before 1903. The next two years brought the coal mining boom. The Big Four carried Saline County coal in 1902, but the tracks were not planned for such heavy traffic, and the bridges were all of wood. In 1905 the road was rebuilt to carry the coal traffic, and has carried 9.01% of the coal produced by the state. That same year thirteen shafts were sunk, but many of them have been abandoned. There are twenty-one operable mines in the county today, owned by ten corporations. All Saline County shaft mines are removing

A HISTORY OF SALINE COUNTY

No. 5, but there are some drift mines that are removing No. 6, one No. 2, and another, No. 3. Saline rose from thirty-first place in 1902 to fifth place in 1930, with an average of eighth place for the period from 1882-1930.

It is to the thickness and very good quality of the coal, that Saline County owes its position as chief competitor of Williamson and Franklin counties. Since 1925 the coal users have turned to southern Illinois, and these three counties have been producing 41% of the state's output.

Coal mining and agriculture are the chief industries. The soil is not particularly fertile, and general grain farming, with corn, wheat, and oats leading, has been the system generally practiced; but one third of the whole acreage is not suited to it. Some farms have been abandoned and others will be unless some specialized crops are introduced. As late as 1890 Saline County and those surrounding it were working oxen and were the poorest in farm machinery in the state.

Poultry and dairy businesses are today rapidly becoming important industries.

Nineteen-thirteen was the year of the last and worst flood. Continued spring rains are common, and the banks of the streams are low, so that overflows in varying degrees occur almost every spring. In that year the Ohio and all its tributaries overflowed. The water backed up until Harrisburg was completely surrounded.

SALINE COUNTY AND THE WORLD WAR

The United States entered the World War in 1917. (The last deep snow of this region came in the winter of 1917-18.)

Saline County had a total of 1,604 men in the service; 900 of them were drafted, and 704 enlisted. Twenty-six of them died, some of disease in camp, others killed in

action. Besides these casualties, there were fifty-five Saline County soldiers wounded in action.

The women of the whole county, and the children too, were organized into Red Cross and Junior Red Cross. They made hospital garments and surgical dressings in special work rooms. Everyone knitted socks, wristlets, mufflers, sweaters. The little girls learned by knitting wash cloths which were shipped with the other supplies; and at Christmas, a package was sent to each Saline County soldier in France.

All food consumption was controlled by the Federal Government, and prices were exorbitant. Sugar rose to thirty-five cents a pound, and a purchase was limited to two pounds. Conservation of coal and other resources was stressed similarly: tags were distributed to the school children to take home to tie on the handle of the coal shovel as a reminder of fuel economy.

The winter of 1918-19 the flu epidemic raged. All schools, churches, and theatres were closed; and the Baptist church at Harrisburg was converted into an emergency hospital.

The years after the war are not distinguished for anything in particular except the building of the hard roads and the Illinois Central cut-off. Saline County shared the hectic prosperity of the twenties and the tragic collapse of 1929. Nineteen-thirty is still remembered as the hot, dry year; it was 114 degrees one day, probably the all-time record for the county. (The University of Illinois reports in 1926 that the record was 110 degrees in 1918.)

The state highways, with the intersection of routes 1, 13, 34, and 143 at Harrisburg, have made many people conscious of Saline County who had never heard of it before.

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Like most of southern Illinois, Saline is slowly shrinking in population. The 1930 census with a total of 37,100 shows a decline of 3.3 per cent since 1920. According to the same census, there are 34,523 native whites, 1,045 foreign-born, and 1,542 negroes.

No special distinction, either good or bad, sets Saline County apart; it had no vendetta like Williamson, no visits from celebrities like Gallatin and Massac; it was explored, settled, and developed quietly and unassumingly.⁴

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⁴The mine riot of October 5, 1933, which resulted in summoning the state militia to Harrisburg and the subsequent disturbances, had not occurred when this was written.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF HARRISBURG, ILLINOIS, 1853-1933

By
*THE STAFF OF THE
MITCHELL-CARNEGIE PUBLIC LIBRARY*

Harrisburg did not grow up naturally around a mill or a mine as most towns do; it was artificially created. The county seat was originally located at Raleigh which is only six miles from the north boundary of the county. The dissatisfaction this caused among the people in the southern part of the county brought about the birth of Harrisburg, a child of controversy.

Raleigh was selected as the county seat in the year Saline became a separate county (1847). It was not long until agitation to move the county seat to a central location was begun. The site which is Muddy today had been suggested when Raleigh was decided upon, and if the Muddy site had been chosen, Harrisburg never would have existed. In 1852, however, a meeting was called at Old Liberty Church to discuss a new town site; and a committee was appointed to buy the land which is now the public square and its immediate surroundings. The committee bought five acres from each of four men: Pankey, Yandell, Cain, and Harris. The original plat extended from Cherry Street on the east to Jackson on the west, and from Elm on the north to Church on the south.

It was platted into lots and sold at public auction July, 1853. There were no houses or families living on this particular twenty acres; although it, together with some sur-

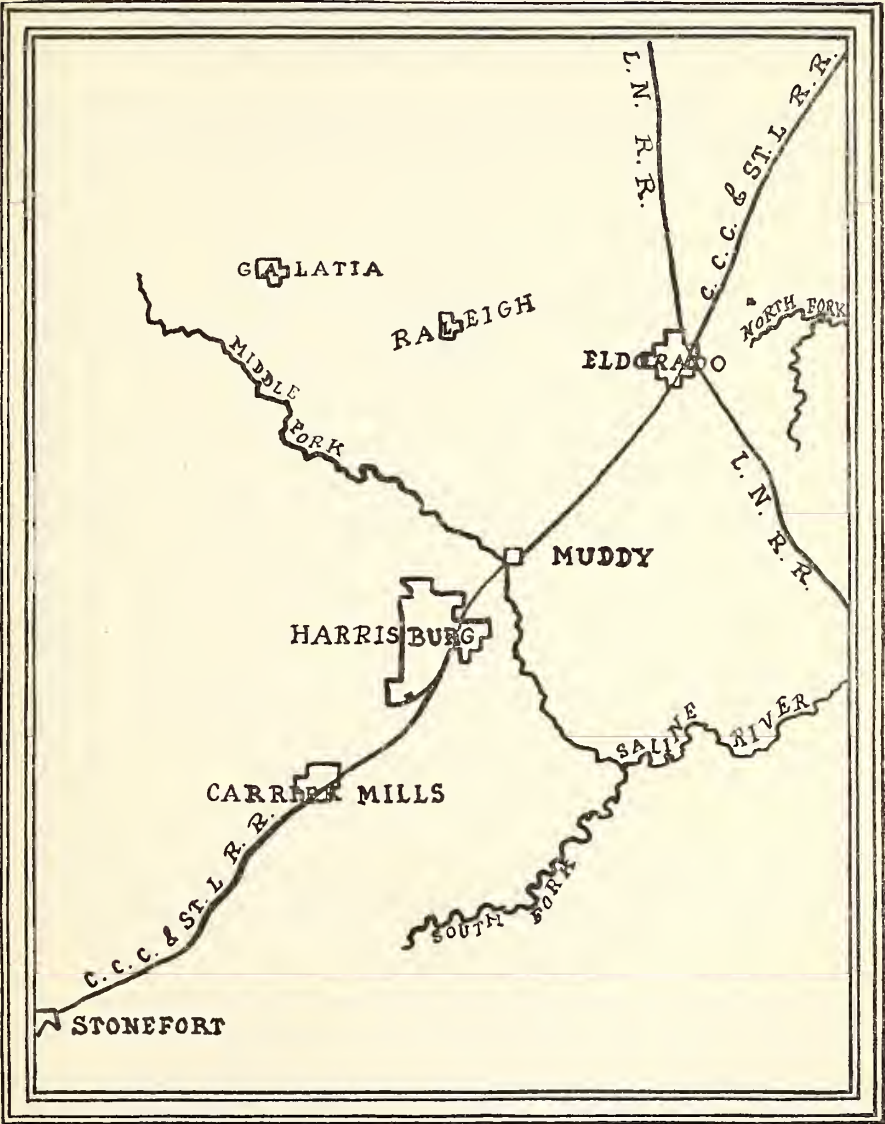
rounding acres, was called "Crusoe's Island" because it was often isolated by water, and there were a few families living on other parts of the "Island." Building around the square began immediately, and there were several buildings finished by 1854, including a house of logs used as a store which stood where the City National Bank is today. By that time too, it had become a recognized government post office, and people were impatient to get the county seat moved; but Raleigh had a new court house and gave up the prestige reluctantly. The case was taken to court, but nothing was done, and the Harrisburg supporters have been accused of "buying off" the court and "fixing" the election which gave Harrisburg the majority of fifteen votes.

From before the creation of Harrisburg, the Gaskinses, Feazels, Sloans, and Dorrises were important land owners. Their names are preserved, not only in their descendants, but in the streets and subdivisions of the town.

The first church was the Methodist, organized in 1856. At first it was included in the Raleigh circuit, but a Harrisburg circuit was soon formed, and the first church building was used as a union community church.

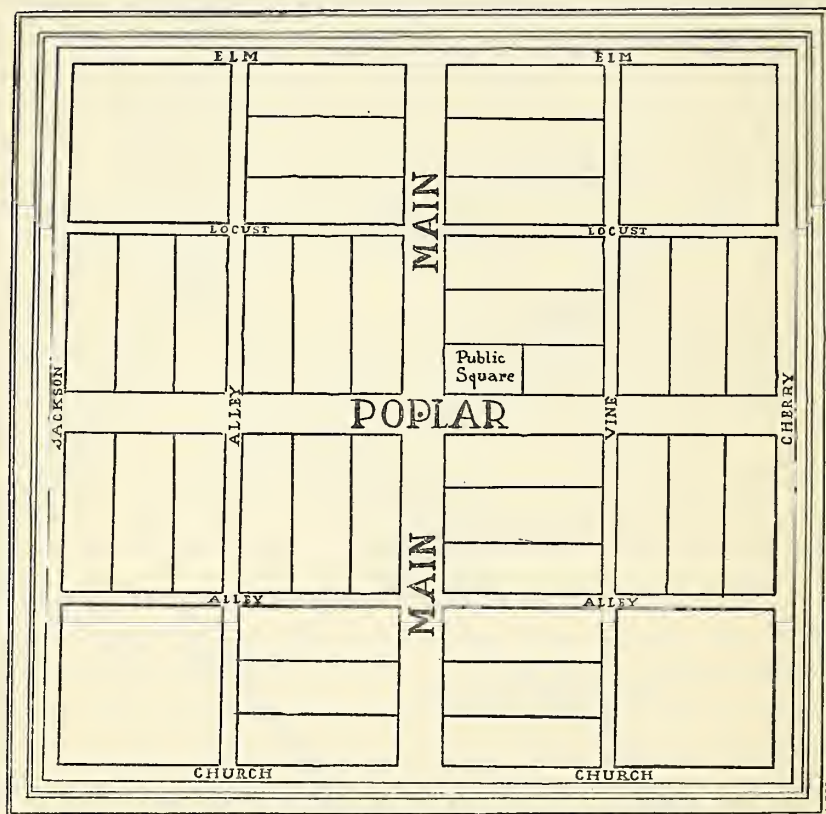
One year before the county seat was moved, the first schoolhouse was built (1858). It was a small frame building on the corner of Vine and Church streets, just in front of where the public library is today. The next year Harrisburg had by hook or crook achieved the majority and became the county seat (1859). Then development began in earnest. A newspaper, the *Chronicle*, one of the only two successful papers, was started; and Lodge No. 325 of F. & A. M. was organized. After the county seat was moved from Raleigh to Harrisburg, the doctors and lawyers who had established their practices in the other town moved with the county seat.

SALINE COUNTY 1933



A BRIEF HISTORY OF HARRISBURG, ILLINOIS, 1853-1933

About 1860 the first business in the nature of a factory was started; it was a tannery and stood where the traction depot is. In those days the families were almost self-sufficient and the little else they needed was done largely by hand right in the village. After butchering, the hides were sold to the tannery; and every spring the farmers



HARRISBURG IN 1853

sold the bark of the oak trees they had cut in clearing new ground. The juice obtained from steeping crushed oak bark in water was the tanning chemical. The leather was used locally to make and repair shoes and harness. The water for the tannery was supplied by a permanent well

on the ground now covered by the Hubbard Apartments on West Logan Street. The well was never known to be pumped dry, and in dry years, supplied half the town with water.

The year of the outbreak of the Civil War was the year Harrisburg was incorporated as a town. The first imposing building was built that year; it was the first court house, made of very beautiful white stone with Greek columns.

For the next four years building and development were probably at a standstill because most of the men were in the Civil War; but in 1865, after the close of the war, things began again. The first fair association was formed; the first hotel was built where the Gregg and Barter Drug Store is; and the old opera house which has served so long in so many capacities. The Elks remodeled it a few years ago and use it for their hall. The Baptist and Presbyterian churches were both organized in 1868, and used the community church building located on the corner of Main and Church streets in union with the Methodist which was already twelve years old. The next year the Arrow Lodge No. 386 of I. O. O. F. was organized, just ten years after the F. & A. M.; and the *Register* was started, ten years after the *Chronicle*.

The first flour and planing mill was moved to Harrisburg from Galatia soon after the town was started and was located on East Walnut Street where the R. C. Davenport home is. Across the street was a little shed which housed a carding mill, and all around and beyond it were open fields for many years.

The owner of the carding mill had been "bribed" to move his mill from Marion to Harrisburg. If he would come over, he could have ten acres of land free. He came! He came during the battle at Fort Donelson. On their way over, he and his family could hear the guns.

The carding mill was important for cotton as well as wool. During the Civil War and for a few years after, while southern cotton was unavailable, all southern Illinois raised cotton as an export crop. Business came from miles. People from Hardin and Pope counties brought their cotton to Harrisburg to be carded. Enterprising business men knew the importance of the carding mill and the advantage of having one in Harrisburg.

In 1870 the flour mill, part of which is still used as a warehouse for Woolcott's mill, was built by Dr. J. W. Mitchell.

The town was growing during the boom years succeeding the war, and in 1871, a new brick schoolhouse was built where the Logan School is; and the Methodists built a church of their own. The next year Harrisburg's only railroad, then the Cairo and Vincennes, was built through Saline County. The arrival of the first complete train was a great occasion. It was an excursion train from Vincennes to Cairo. Everyone went down to the depot to see it come in, and also went to Cairo on it. That year (1872) is still remembered as the dry year; for four months there was no rain at all; and two wells, the one near the tannery and one in "Happy Hollow" (the slight depression terminating in the intersection of Mill and South streets) supplied the whole town with water.

The first bank, originally called the Saline County Bank, but now the First National, was organized in 1876. It is still in business and is twenty-two years older than the next oldest, the City National, which bought the Baker Bank and was chartered in 1898.

By the end of the seventies the introduction of new chemicals made the old tannery unprofitable and it was discontinued; however, the new decade brought a brighter

outlook for everything else. Coal was being considered commercially; and a stave factory, using the timber south to Pope County, was manufacturing staves for the Standard Oil Company, doing a total business of about \$8,000 per month. The Black Hawk mine was sunk in 1885 near where Ford's brick kiln is now, and only a few years earlier two mines had been sunk near Ledford. Baker, Walford & Co., started the second bank which was later called the Bank of Harrisburg. A woolen mill was built in 1884, and stood where C. V. Parker's Oil House is. A very small part of the old building is still standing and is used as an oil warehouse. The mill manufactured some blankets and other cloth and also had a set of custom cards to card wool for those who wanted to spin and weave at home.

Up to this time tobacco had been of some importance; and, although Galatia was the tobacco center of the county, Harrisburg had two huge tobacco barns where the buying and selling was done. One was on East Poplar Street where the Harrisburg Garage is, and the other on North Main Street where the Saline Hotel is, across from the Baptist Church. Tobacco rapidly drains the soil of its substance, so that it requires new ground; and after two or three crops of tobacco the farmers planted their ground in something else. Too, the stiff black "gumbo" around Harrisburg raised a rank, coarse tobacco which did not sell well, and the last tobacco transaction was about 1886.

The local post of the now rapidly dwindling G.A.R. was organized in 1884, the same year the Presbyterians built their first church where the Orpheum Theatre is now. Two years later the Baptists built in their present location, but the building has been altered and enlarged several times since.

In October, 1882, the town experienced its first sweeping fire. All the buildings on the east side of the square were

frame, some rather ramshackle like some of the others around the square; and about eleven o'clock one night, fire broke out in the center of the block. Of course the whole block went because bucket brigades using water from the court house lawn were helpless to check it.

The winter of 1883-84 is still referred to as the "year of the high water," although that which came in 1913 rose much higher and caused more damage and suffering.

Vine Street between Poplar and Church streets was called "Whiskey Chute" because saloons lined it on both sides. In March, 1888, a fire broke out in one of the saloons between the alley and Poplar Street. Both sides of Vine Street to the alley and all the south side of the square burned. There were only two brick buildings in the block, the Bank of Harrisburg on the west corner and the second building from the east corner; but their walls and the vault of the bank were all that were left.

Three weeks after the south side burned, the west side burned. "Grandma" Pearce left too big a fire under her Sunday dinner while she went to church; the fire started in the back of the Pierce Hotel on the corner where Gregg's Drug Store is and traveled north to the end of the block. Flying sparks settled, burning an occasional building out to the edge of town at Logan Street. There were no brick buildings at all through the entire length of the street, and wherever a spark fell, the building burned. After all these losses, the council decreed that henceforth, any new building around the square or within one block of the square should be built of brick or stone.

The town was incorporated as a "city" under aldermanic form of government in 1889. The whole town was divided into wards; two aldermen elected from each ward, and a mayor comprised the governing board. At this time the

population was probably 1,500, the town limits had extended north from Elm to Logan Street; but the corner of Webster and Walnut was still "away out." The old brick house which is still standing on that corner was built by a man who wanted to get away from the town! South, Main Street went only as far as Gaskins Street. Because of the railroad, the town had built eastward along Poplar and Locust streets, but it was still a tiny town when it was incorporated as a city.

The high school which has played such an important part in the life of the community was started as a department of the city school system in the upstairs of the old East Side School in 1890 with only a two-year course at first. Mr. Harry Taylor came to teach in the high school in 1896 and succeeded to the superintendency in 1898. When the high school was separated and became a township school, he became its first principal and has been with it ever since.

Several things happened in the next two years. The first electric street lights were turned on with much ceremony on June 14, 1892. The Mayor, Charles P. Skaggs, made a speech and his daughter, Mrs. Harry Woolcott, then a little girl four years old, turned the lights on. The old building which housed the first mill held this early light plant, and the power was generated by the mill machinery. The building now occupied by the City National Bank was built by the Bank of Harrisburg in 1893 to replace the one destroyed by fire when the whole block had burned a few years before; the first brick sidewalks were built the same year, and saloons were voted out to stay out for ten years, as it proved. Saloons are the pegs many people hang their memories on, "Let me see, I know we had saloons then, because..."

In 1897 the men who organized the City National Bank bought the Bank of Harrisburg, or Baker's bank as it was

commonly called. This bank was the third one organized, but it is the second oldest doing business today.

Coal was metaphorically, and almost literally, looming on the horizon at the beginning of the new century. Very little had been shipped before 1902 because the Big Four tracks were not constructed to stand the strain, but the railroad company was considering laying new tracks. In 1901 the Harrisburg Water, Light and Power Co. bought the little local plant which had been operating rather inefficiently and got a thirty-five year franchise from the city. (The Central Illinois Public Service Company bought this franchise in 1912 and is operating under it today.) The first separate high school building was built in 1902, and in 1903 it was separated from the city system. Saloons were voted in for 1903-04, then out again and have been out ever since. The present court house was built in 1904 to replace the old one, a much lovelier building but no longer safe.

The Big Four laid new tracks in 1904, and the mine boom was on. Thirteen shafts were sunk in the county in 1905; and miners, operators, and engineers poured into the sleepy little town of about 2,500 people. There were no paved streets, and few sidewalks; horses hitched in front of the court house mired in the mud; a wagon needed four horses to pull it through the mud around the square. The sidewalks in many places were planks on a scaffold above a muddy trench. After coal became definitely established as the principal business of the town, all this changed. Harrisburg became a prosperous, charming little city. Paving the streets began with the square and Poplar to the depot in 1908.

The volume of business was so increased that two new banks were organized in 1905: the Harrisburg State Savings Bank and the Saline Trust and Savings Bank, since merged into the First Trust and Savings Bank.

Drainage and sanitation problems occupied the attention of the city board in the early 1900's and for several years following. Among other problems was draining the square. Poplar Street rose to a hill where it crossed Main, and since water does not run uphill, it was necessary to level this hill down to drain the square. It was cut down and the water drained off back of Gregg's Drug Store.

Mining continued to develop and the town with it. A fire department was organized and an engine purchased; another telephone company came in; sewer bonds were floated at intervals; the Methodists and Presbyterians built their present churches; the Catholic church was organized with a resident priest for this parish; the nucleus of the present public library was begun. All this happened within a very few years.

The public library, started by the Woman's Club, was struggling for existence; it consisted of a few donated books housed in a room in the old city hall. The library board applied to the Carnegie Corporation and were told that the Corporation would give a building if the town would give a site, and agree to support it by a sufficient annual appropriation. The board and a committee from the Woman's Club worked hard with no success. Discouraged, the board met one night with no hope or news. Suddenly one of them thought of Doctor Mitchell. He was a wealthy man; he might! A committee went to call on him immediately and put the proposition before him. He did! He gave the location, and when he saw from the blue print that the building was being crowded, he gave six feet more on the east side. The building was started in 1908 and formally opened, dedicated and presented to the public on January 21, 1909. It is named for Doctor Mitchell who gave the lot and for Andrew Carnegie whose money built the building.

Coal brought prosperity, but before safety became a science it also brought many accidents and sorrow. "On February 13, 1911, four men were killed in Saline County Coal Company's No. 3. It was caused by the sinking bucket coming loose from the hook and dropping eighty feet with three men in it and striking one already down. In October of the same year, eight men were killed in O'Gara Coal Company's No. 9. Mines No. 4 and No. 9 were connected at the face of the main north entry of No. 9. Number 4 had been closed for repairs in the main shaft, and it seems that the section of this mine nearest No. 9 had not been sufficiently ventilated. These men were working near the connection of the mines when an explosion occurred which blew the door down between the two mines and the after-damp rushed in." ¹

In 1913 the interurban traction line from Eldorado to Carrier Mills was built; the city government was changed from aldermanic to commission form; the present white stone post office was built; and the whole town was distressed by the worst flood in local history. The water backed up until Harrisburg was completely surrounded. The houses in O'Gara No. 3 Patch were flooded to the roof; people, forced to abandon their homes, lived in tents on the dry land; a boat could go from the Big Four tracks on East Poplar Street to Kentucky. Harrisburg proved to be the "Crusoe's Island" of its early days. Gaskins City and Dorrisville are both sufficiently elevated that they were above the water, but boats had to be used between them and Harrisburg. The water poured in the old mine shaft on the southwest corner of Equality compressing the air in the mine so that the reaction forced the water out in a geyser-like manner. The O'Gara mines in the flooded district

¹*Compilation of the Reports of the Mining Industry of Illinois from the Earliest Records.*

were in danger of a similar disaster, but sand-bags were stacked around them to protect them.

The tragedy became history and attention was again turned to the future, and an addition was built to the high school the next year.

Everything went well for a few years; the mines were running steadily. Then the European War reached the ignition point. The whole town joined in a feverish activity of war work, and when the flu epidemic came that winter (1918-19), the energy already generated by the war was sufficient to handle the situation easily and efficiently. Schools, churches, theatres and public gatherings of all kinds were suspended for a time; and the Baptist church was converted into an emergency hospital to care for the sick.

The Rotary Club was organized during this period of activity and organization in general.

Of the twenty-six Saline county boys who died in the service, thirteen were from Harrisburg, and three of them were killed in action; fifteen of the county's total fifty-five wounded were from Harrisburg.

The fever did not abate until the business decline of 1921. The years immediately following the war, 1918-20, were the most prosperous Harrisburg mining has ever experienced; but in 1921 coal was affected by the general slump and has never revived.

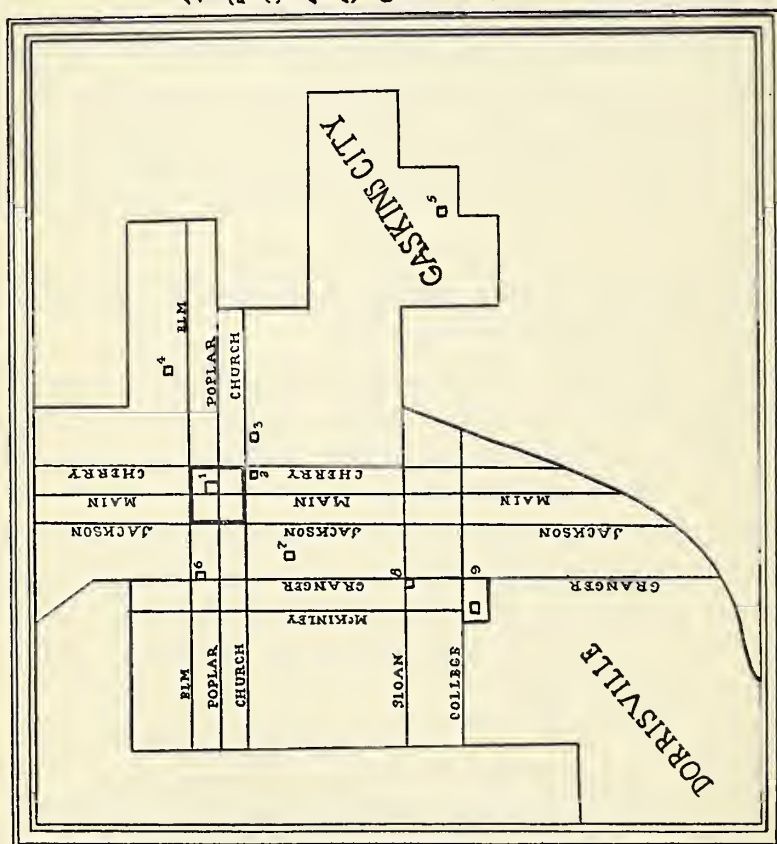
On August 31, 1921, the worst accident in the history of the Saline County mines occurred at Harco when a gas explosion killed twelve men. Such occasions always disturb the whole community, and this was the worst the county has ever known.

The school system expanded very rapidly after 1905. Logan, the oldest school building in use, was built in 1905

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HARRISBURG, ILLINOIS, 1853-1933

LEGEND

1. COURT HOUSE
2. PUBLIC LIBRARY
3. LOGAN SCHOL
4. LINCOLN SCHOL
5. BAYLISS SCHOL
6. HORACE MANN SCHOL
7. JUNIOR HIGH SCHOL
8. MCKINLEY SCHOL
9. HIGH SCHOL



HARRISBURG IN 1933

to replace the old East Side, which was torn down; the Junior High, the newest in the city school system, was built in 1921; and the new building was added to the high school in 1922. The next year the largest single annexation to the city took place when Dorrisville and Gaskins City and some additional tracts were annexed. These additions made a total of eight political wards, twice as many as there were in 1902. The Gaskins City school was already in the Harrisburg district, but the Dorrisville school has never been voted in. It was supported by taxes from Mine No. 9 when that mine was running, but today the district is hard pressed to pay for the school.

The population of Harrisburg by the 1930 census is 11,625; of this total, 10,672 are native white, 421 are foreign born, and 532 are negroes. The area included in the city corporate limits is much greater than that included in the 1920 census report. That census reports the Harrisburg population to be 7,125. Considering these figures without the annexations to the city, it appears that Harrisburg has grown rapidly, but in reality the whole county is slowly decreasing in population. The reason is obvious; the mine boom is over.

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THE WHITE CITY

The Beginnings of a Planned Civilization in America

By

MAURICE NEUFELD

I

The World's Columbian Exposition forms an early chapter, still neglected, in the record of the decline of *laissez-faire* as the dominant American philosophy. The emphasis in 1893 was upon the unity of the states bound together through industrialization. Americans, priding themselves in the results of the democratic exploitation of an immense continent, foresaw a world career for republican power. The classic façade which the best architects imposed upon Chicago as the national structural formula suggested the unity of the nation in a Roman, imperial setting. Industry and imperialism, then, the two decisive factors of the twentieth century, were symbolized in the Fair of 1893.

But the very excellence which made this unity possible meant the death of an idea: *laissez-faire*. People marveled at the beauty and dignity of the White City and at the social utility of planning. The results of mechanization formed the materials with which Daniel Burnham and his group developed, however vaguely, a technique of organization destined to expand in scope and form some forty years later. A second achievement, no less remarkable, and no less antithetical to the prevailing notions of *laissez-faire*,

was the World's Congress Auxiliary which encompassed as its task the intellectual history of the nineteenth century. This long-planned conference brought together the most active minds of the world, and here the triumphs, but more insistently, the problems, of industrialization were studied, and the evils of an unordered society analyzed. These were beginnings.

The rise of industry and the results of planning were the lessons of the White City: one was loudly proclaimed; the other was less obvious in its implications, for it was new and not distinctly formulated. But for Henry Adams it was a bewildering education. Chicago was "the first expression of American thought as unity; one must start there." Chicago asked for the first time, Adams thought, whether the American people knew where they were going. It was the beginning of a new era for the United States, and "between two forces, one simply industrial, the other capitalistic, centralizing, and mechanical,"¹ the citizens chose. In 1893 they visited the Fair in the midst of the severest industrial depression the United States had yet experienced. In 1933 *A Century of Progress* opened with unemployment spread throughout the land. There is a difference, however. Planning today is no mere discussion, or the restricted venture of a Fair or courageous municipality. To learn the history of its permeation into American thought, the historian, faced with the question of Henry Adams, must start with Chicago, with the industrial aspects of the Exposition, and must then consider the powerful forces which grew from the material base: the work of planning the Fair as a whole, of planning the White City, and of organizing the World's Congress Auxiliary.

¹Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Modern Library Edition, 344.

II

Against Washington, New York, and St. Louis, Chicago won the honor of housing the fifteenth of the world fairs, the World's Columbian Exposition, commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. William Dean Howells had characterized Chicago as "the realized ideal of that largeness, loudness and fastness, which New York has persuaded the Americans is metropolitan."² By the middle of the eighties, seventeen railroads were entering Chicago, making the city during that decade the great central market. The value of hides and wool handled in 1885 totaled \$25,000,000; Chicago's lumber industry was the greatest in the United States: 500 steamers and 30,000 railroad cars handled products valued at \$50,000,000. Chicago was the center of the clothing industry; sales totaled \$20,000,000. Its furniture business outclassed New York in the number of employees and the amount of annual products. Outside the city limits the Pullman village was rising, a \$5,000,000 investment, an early, unfortunate attempt at community planning. As early as 1881 Chicago had brought Illinois from fifteenth to fourth place in the manufacture of iron and steel. James S. Norton at a banquet in honor of Burnham summarized Chicago's achievement: "The whole marvelous transformation from the trading-post to the chosen theatre of a world's pageant has come within the range of a single life yet far from spent. We look back to find the origin and explanation of Chicago in those forces which fixed the natural highways of a vast and fertile territory. We see her now, a field of prodigious activities, a marvel of brilliant achievement, a turbulent school of sociology."³

²W. D. Howells, "Letters of an Altrurian Traveller," *Cosmopolitan*, XVI, 218.

³Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, I, 78.

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What city was better fitted to display two historic features of the Industrial Exposition: the exhibits of the Transportation Building showing the progress made in travel and communication, and the exhibits in the Electricity Building, where the use of electricity for motive power overwhelmed the imagination of Henry Adams?

The development of transportation from the ox-cart to the palace car was given in 10,000 exhibits. The Intramural Electric Railroad made a round trip of thirteen miles in three-quarters of an hour. There were fifteen trains of four open cars, seating a hundred people to a car, and a speed of thirty miles an hour was permitted. John B. Walker predicted that George Gould, after seeing this railroad which had the ability to handle 16,000 passengers an hour, would have to electrify the elevated roads of New York regardless of the millions tied up in the old fashioned roads. Walker also envisaged that moment in the future when an electric mail service between the great cities of the eastern seaboard and Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati would be necessary. He foresaw a speed of a hundred miles an hour. "No one can exactly predict what the future contains, and railroad properties, which are now very valuable, which cross zigzag in many directions, which have rolling-stock worth many millions, may become almost useless under the demands of new engineering, under the conditions of a new invention, under the possibilities of a new science."⁴

The first electric lights had appeared in Chicago in 1880; by 1885 the tower of the Board of Trades Building glowed with the light of bulbs. What astounded the millions of visitors to the Fair were the thousands of incandescent lamps whose illumination flooded the grounds at night and played over the lagoons of the White City. One hundred

⁴"Transportation, Old and New," *Cosmopolitan*, XV, 584.

and twenty thousand incandescent lamps of sixteen candlepower each, and 5,000 arcs of 2,000 candlepower each, indicated a capacity eight times greater than that of the plants of the Paris Fair. The great achievement in lighting was the interior of the Manufacturing Building. Five huge coronas, suspended 170 feet from the floor, with a central corona seventy-five feet in diameter, carrying alone 102 lights—this was the expression of a new industrial age.

What was never at Paris, and what was destined to revolutionize the history of human production, was the use of electricity for the transmission of power: energy transversion. Power had been used in the construction of the Fair buildings, and R. H. Pierce described how the temporary power plant ran day and night, seven days in the week.⁵ The Intramural Electric Railway; the fifty electric launches on the lagoons, making their seventy mile trips at fifteen miles an hour; the great arc lights on shore, guardians of the safety of the vessels on the lake—these merely emphasized the story of the growth of electrical machinery told at the Edison and Bell exhibits. "One lingered long among the dynamos, for they were new, and they gave to history a new phase." Beneath the dome of Hunt's creation, Adams contemplated, as he had in the shadows of Rome, and much to the same purpose.

III

The details of organizing and planning the Columbian Exposition and the character of the technique involved are of historical interest, for they form a chronological background to the problems of extensive planning during the World War and to the developments under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The influence of the Fair upon

⁵Murat Halstead, "Electricity at the Fair," *Cosmopolitan*, XV, 577. See also, *The Chautauquan*, XVII, 264.

later experiments was, of course, never direct, but rather through the dispersion of fundamental ideas in 1893 which took deeper root when material conditions made this desirable.

By March 10, 1890, the Executive Committee of the Promoting Committee of 250, appointed by the Mayor of Chicago, had raised \$5,000,000 in subscriptions. This sum, stipulated by Congress, was increased later to \$10,000,000. The total cost of the Exposition is variously estimated from \$33,000,000 to \$43,000,000. Of this sum, Chicago gave \$10,500,000 in addition to \$3,500,000 for preliminary housecleaning. Private exhibits were estimated to have cost \$30,000,000, and the combined public and private cost of the Fair has been reckoned at \$60,000,000—or nearly one dollar for every man, woman, and child in the United States in 1893, or \$50 for everyone in Chicago.⁶

The Exposition opened May 1, 1893, and closed October 30, 1893. The Fair was open 179 days. 21,477,218 visitors paid to get in, and the total number of visitors, including exhibitors and holders of passes, was 27,529,400. The greatest attendance on any single day was reached on Chicago Day, October 9, when 716,881 passed the gates. The greatest attendance on a single day at the Philadelphia and Paris Expositions had been 217,526 and 397,150.

The exhibitors numbered 65,422, and medals were awarded to 23,757. Two hundred and fifty thousand separate exhibits were examined and reported.⁷

The area of the Columbian grounds was one and one-fifth times greater than the sum of the areas of the Centen-

⁶Appropriations by the state governments, \$6,020,850; by the federal government, \$2,668,875; and by foreign governments, \$6,571,520. See Appleton's *Annual Encyclopaedia* for 1894, 766.

⁷John B. Thacher, *Awards of the World's Columbian Exposition*, Albany, 1898. The copy at the Congressional Library in Washington is one of seven copies.

nial and Paris Fairs—633 acres. The area covered by buildings measured 150 acres. The number of main buildings was twenty-eight, and the cost of the buildings and grounds was \$16,519,692, almost six times the cost of the Paris Exposition.

"The whole undertaking, carried through with remarkable enterprise, was an artistic and educational triumph of the first order."⁸ The scope and plan of the Exposition was first determined by the National Commission. This group was composed of two commissioners from each state, two from the District of Columbia, and eight appointed by the President at large. Eight members of the National Commission formed a Board of Reference and Control. The local unit, the World's Columbian Exposition Corporation, was guided by a board of forty-five directors, headed by Lyman Gage, the Vice-President of the First National Bank of Chicago.⁹ The Chicago corporation had a board corresponding to the National Board of Reference and Control. The two together formed the Committee of Conference. A third unit of the managerial machinery was the Council of Administration, which had four members, two from the national, and two from the local, Board of Reference and Control. A fourth unit was the Board of Lady Managers headed by the very able Mrs. Potter Palmer. The National Commission was directed by Thomas W. Palmer; the Chicago Corporation by Harlow N. Higinbotham. The Director-General, chosen by the National Commission, was George R. Davis, one of the local Board of Directors. Under him were placed the thirteen depart-

⁸*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume V, 455, Fourteenth Edition.

⁹Lyman Gage was a man of great courage and social vision. From the beginning of the Anarchists' Trial he protested against the methods of Judge Gary. He tried in vain to have the sentences commuted, but met with the opposition of Marshall Field. Early in 1893, his name headed the list of 60,000 signatures procured by the Amnesty Association.

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ments of the Exposition. Daniel H. Burnham was appointed Director of Works, and upon him the actual burden of the Exposition fell.

John Coleman Adams and William D. Howells were amazed to find that financiers and business men had been able to select talent worthy of the huge job: "... here for the first time in their pitiless economic struggle, their habitual warfare in which they neither give nor ask quarter ... the interests submitted to the arts." One mind had been selected to invite the coöperation of the arts, rather than leave it to competition among artists. The arts were reunited: architecture, sculpture, painting, and landscape gardening. E. T. Jaffery, President of the Illinois Central; Lyman Gage, and James W. Ellsworth played a noteworthy part in making the unity of the White City possible. The record of their preliminary efforts to get the best talent available is found in Charles Moore's *Daniel H. Burnham*.

The architectural feat of Daniel H. Burnham, Richard Hunt, F. L. Olmstead, John W. Root, and the group working with Saint Gaudens was the transformation of nearly 700 acres of ground, practically none of it improved, and most of it covered by water or wild-oak ridges, into the White City. Within the space of twenty months this had to be converted into a site suitable in substance and decoration "for an exposition of the industries and the entertainment of representatives of all the nations of the world. On its stately terraces a dozen palaces were to be built—all of great extent and of high architectural importance—these to be supplemented by two hundred other structures, some of which were to be almost the size of the Exposition buildings themselves. Great canals, basins, lagoons, and islands were to be formed; extensive docks, bridges, and towers to be constructed."¹⁰ In Burnham's temporary home near the

¹⁰Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, I, Chapter 4.

lake's edge, the great Chicago architect surrounded himself with visiting guests, architects, painters, and sculptors. Every member of this household was required each morning to make a survey of the proposition as it stood at the beginning of the day—an entire tour of the grounds. In this way the principle of a common point of view for all workers was obtained. What Burnham could scarcely believe was “the noble, artistic result which has come from the work of American artists who have had only a few months’ time to prepare those very designs for the great buildings of the Exposition which have actually been executed with little change from the sketches which were presented in February, 1891.” At this February meeting, Saint Gaudens had exclaimed, “Look here, old fellow, do you realize that this is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century!”

The chief architects were Burnham and Hunt. Louis Sullivan led a lone fight against the classic motif. He alone was honored by the French government for his Transportation Building, and foreign visitors saw in the huge golden entrance of concentric circles and in the distinctive ornamentation an American architecture. The only other building which caught the eye of foreign critics was Root's pioneer Monadnock Building in Chicago. But Root died early in the Exposition work, and classicism prevailed. The temple façade and Doric column have not passed from America's Main Streets even today. This Burnham, and McKim, Mead, and White effected for the twentieth century. While this architecture was, perhaps, eclectic, artificial, and non-indigenous, it had, at least, the grace of sound taste and unity, qualities wholly foreign to American architecture of earlier decades. If cities from this time on began to plan parks, railway stations, and public buildings which looked like Greek temples and Roman baths, the

important element of planning was present, and in that fact is found meaning for this study.

Edwin Blashfield, who had established the art of mural painting in America; Gari Melchers, fresh from Europe; Frederick MacMonnies—his great fountain was the center of the Court of Honor; Lorado Taft, the creator of the Spirit of the Great Lakes; the lesser men marshalled under Saint Gaudens; Frank Millet, called in because he was the foremost American expert on colors—these artists united in a single, organized work.

The buildings of staff—plaster-of-Paris and jute fibre—rose as the White City. In this planned metropolis John Coleman Adams saw visions of what the ideal city might be. He praised eight features of the White City: 1. The architect, engineer, and landscape gardener united on a system of carefully planned arrangements, and thus made possible a method whereby future populations could be accommodated and the crowding of large cities abolished. Sociology and the arts were joined. 2. Street cleaning facilities were efficient and the American people were trained to respect that cleanliness. 3. The Guards at the Fair were models for city policemen. John B. Walker remarked that they were “public servants placed there to aid in maintaining the law by advice and assistance, ready at all times with kindly word of information, alert to the necessities of visitors and determined to make the day of each in their precincts as pleasant as possible.” 4. The traffic problem was solved through foresight by transportation by lagoon and elevated railroad. 5. The comfort of the people was attended to; water and rest rooms were available at reasonable intervals. 6. The White City paved the way toward a good civic architecture. 7. The White City was built for the citizen and not for the politician. An era of real liberty was possible only under conditions like those

of the Fair. 8. The talent and character of government of the White City was on a level with the task before them, an unusual occurrence in America in 1893. Adams wanted these features embodied into actual municipal fact, "and so remove the blot and failure of modern civilization, the great city of the end of the century."¹¹

IV

Quietly, in the late months of 1889 and all through 1890 the World's Congress Auxiliary was organized. The purpose of the congresses was stated in the announcement accompanying the President's invitation to the World's Columbian Exposition.¹² "But to make the Exposition complete and the celebration adequate, the wonderful achievements of the new age in science, literature, education, government, jurisprudence, morals, charity, religion . . . should also be conspicuously displayed as the most effective means of increasing the fraternity, progress, prosperity, and peace of mankind." The series of congresses were given definite plan in December, 1891, in the preliminary report. The President of the World's Congress Auxiliary was Charles C. Bonney; the Vice-President, Thomas B. Bryan; Treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; and the Secretary, Benjamin Butterworth. Across the letterheads, across all announcements, against the material pride of the White City was written the motto of the Auxiliary: "Not Things but Men."

In the official report of the Secretary of the World's Congress Auxiliary, the counterpart of the organizational skill of the White City is recorded. To carry out the great international work in assembling and displaying the intellectual progress of the century, 210 working committees were

¹¹J. C. Adams, "A Lesson from the White City," *New England Magazine*, N. S., XIV, 3.

¹²*Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, First Session, 52 Congress, Volume 5, Document 163.

organized. The local membership was 1600, the non-resident membership was 15,000. One million circulars were sent out. The announcements by Bonney, and the Preliminary Addresses by the Committees of Organization became a volume of 1388 octavo pages. The World's Congress programs, prepared for the congresses, were bound together in a volume of 1002 octavo pages. By 1896 these two volumes were already out of print.

The congresses began on May 15, 1893 and continued until October 28, 1893. The sessions were held at the Art Palace on the lake shore. For its erection, the Columbian Exposition supplied \$200,000 and the Art Institute, \$400,000. In addition, the Exposition expended \$75,000 to support the congresses, and various committees spent \$25,000. The subject matter of the Auxiliary was discussed at 200 separate congresses; 1,245 sessions were held; 5,974 speakers addressed the 700,000 people who attended this international exhibit of intellectual progress. It was estimated that it would require fifty volumes of 600 pages each to publish the proceedings, papers, and addresses of the various congresses. In January, 1896, Bonney was still appealing to the national government to undertake this work, but his plea was ignored, and this encyclopaedic insight into the civilization of a past century is lost now. Many of the papers were published separately by the organizations participating in the congresses, but these are scattered throughout many journals and volumes long out of print. The *Dial* for January 1, 1896 contains a complete bibliography of the work published up to that time. Practically nothing was published after this date. Nowhere, in enduring form, has an outline of the conferences of this great civilizing influence in American life been recorded; and in most histories, when mentioned at all, these congresses receive but the most perfunctory notice.

The World's Congress Auxiliary opened, significantly enough, on May 15, 1893, with the Woman's Progress Congress. All the women of the world had entered into the work of the Exposition with great enthusiasm, and the congress represented the social and economic advance which the militant women of the world had effected through their own efforts. On May 1, when the Women's Building was dedicated, 128,965 men and women were present. The speech of Mrs. Potter Palmer described the fierce struggle for bread which was still going on in America, despite the age of invention. She talked of the misery of the factory system and of competition. "It is a grave reproach to modern enlightenment that we seem no nearer the solution of many of these problems than during feudal days . . . Women thrown upon their own resources have a frightful struggle to endure, especially as they have always to contend against a public sentiment which discountenances their seeking industrial employment as a means of livelihood." If women are to be kept out of the factories, she warned, they must be provided for by their protectors, and if they have none, by the state.¹³ Mrs. Palmer's break with the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was complete, and at the Exposition and congresses she sounded the call for social reform which began the period described by Faulkner in *The Quest for Social Justice*.

Ellen Henrotin, when she wrote of the Congress of Representative Women, remembered Fraulein Lange's speech in which Gretchen's self-surrender and Nora's speech to Helmer in *The Doll's House* were contrasted: "I must solve these problems myself; I must consider and endeavor to decide if what the pastor says is right—above all, if it is righteous to me." Mrs. Henrotin added, "This is the question they must ask of law, of labor and of religion."

¹³Chicago *Tribune*, May 2, 1893.

They did. There were twenty-three department congresses, ranging from the Y.W.C.A. and the D.A.R. to the National Columbian Household Economics Association. Mrs. May Wright Sewall, the chairman of the congress, has reported these activities in two large volumes, *The Congress of Representative Women*, published in Chicago in 1894. In all, sixty-three organizations were represented, and hundreds of societies and associations.¹⁴

The week of May 22 was devoted to the public press. William P. Nixon was President. The department congresses included Daily and General Newspapers; Press Women of the World; American Newspaper Publishers' Association; Religious Press; and the Trade Press. McClure of Philadelphia, Albert Shaw of *The Review of Reviews*, John B. Walker of *Cosmopolitan*, Kate Field, and Rabbi Wise were present. Mrs. Palmer emphasized the influence the press could have in bringing about social legislation. The influence of patent insides on the individuality of provincial newspapers was beginning to be noticed. It was revealed that 4,000,000 newspapers were printed daily in the United States. The social significance of this medium of intelligence was noted again and again. Joseph Howard deplored the lack of a strong purpose in modern newspapers; they should have something more vital to defend than the tariff. Susan B. Anthony was invited to give her impression of an ideal newspaper. Her conception may be found in the Chicago *Tribune* of May 28, 1893:

¹⁴The foremost addresses were: Elizabeth C. Stanton, "The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman." Marie Stromberg of Russia, "The Evolution of the Business Woman." Julia Ward Howe, "Moral Initiative as Related to Woman." Mary P. Jacobi, "Woman in Science." The Countess of Aberdeen, "Woman as an Actual Force in Politics." Kaethe Schirmacher, "The Effect of Modern Changes in Industrial and Social Life on Woman's Marriage Prospects." Alice Freeman Palmer spoke on "Education"; Kate Bond on "Moral Reform"; and Susan B. Anthony on "Political Liberty of Women." In addition, there were speeches and discussions on colored women, women on the stage and in the press.

no sensations, no scandals, unbiased views, great emphasis on the readjustments of domestic life, and run entirely by women.

The Department of Medicine and Surgery met from May 29 to June 3. Dr. Milton Jay presided over the Eclectic Physicians and Surgeons; J. S. Mitchell over the Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons; Dr. T. C. Duncan over the Medico-Climatology Congress. The Social Purity Congress also met. The effect of women on children, present methods of judging men and women, and the abolition of state regulation of vice were discussed. The work of Mrs. Josephine Baker was highly praised.¹⁵

The Temperance Congress was headed by Albert G. Lawson from June 5 to June 10. Nine department congresses were held. Edward Bellamy spoke for the nationalization of the liquor traffic. The Moral and Social Reform Congress met from June 12 to June 19 under the direction of Mrs. James M. Flower. This congress included the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy. The subjects covered included "The Public Treatment of Pauperism"; "Care of Neglected, Abandoned, and Dependent Children"; "Prevention and Repression of Crime"; and "The Introduction of Sociology as a Special Topic of Investigation."¹⁶

Lyman Gage directed the Commerce and Finance Congress which met from June 19 to June 24. There were eight department congresses. The World's Railway Commerce Congress met under G. R. Blanchard. The United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations

¹⁵*World's Public Health Congress*, printed for the American Public Health Association by the Republican Press Association, Concord, 1894. See also, *Transactions of the World's Congress of Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons*, Philadelphia, 1894.

¹⁶*The International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1894; also, The Scientific Press, London, 1894.

met under Seymour Dexter from June 27 to June 30. It was hoped that out of the Commerce and Finance Congress an international association of bankers might spring. John Sherman, Levi P. Morton, and J. W. Daniel were present. Ellen Henrotin spoke on the significance of the investments of women; John Dillon on "Railway Jurisprudence;" Horace White on the "Single Gold Standard;" and W. W. Meddaugh on "Railway Strikes."¹⁷

Theodore Thomas, the founder of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, presided over the Music Congress from July 3 to July 10. Special congresses were staged on Musical Education, Music Journalism, and Indian and Folk Song Music.¹⁸

The Congress of Literature began July 10. Activities were divided between the Congress of Authors, Historians and Historical Students, Librarians, Philologists, and the American Dialect Society and Folk Lore. The congress of authors was the first of its kind for English writers. At the opening convention C. D. Warner, Richard W. Gilder, G. W. Cable, Walter Besant, and Max Richter responded. Warner spoke on "The Function of Literary Criticism in the United States;" H. W. Mabie on "Criticism as an Educational Force;" Cable on "Aspects of Modern Fiction," and Hamlin Garland on "Local Color in Fiction." George E. Woodberry was Secretary of the Committee of Coöperation. W. F. Poole presided over the Historical Literature Congress. At the Historical Section, papers were given by James B. Angell, Moses Coit Tyler, Frederick Bancroft, E. G. Bourne, Reuben Gold Thwaites, and L. H. Boutell. H. B. Adams was present. George Ebers sent a paper to

¹⁷*World's Congress of Bankers and Financiers*, Chicago, 1893; *World's Railway Commerce Congress*, Chicago, 1893; see *Railway Age* and *Northwestern Railroader*.

¹⁸H. S. Perkins, "The Musical Congresses," *Proceedings of the Music Teachers Association*.

the Philological Congress of which W. G. Hale was President. Fletcher Bassett presided over the Folk Lore Conference.

The Social Settlement Congress met for seven sessions during the week of July 17. Charles Zeublin and Jane Addams were the chief speakers. H. D. Lloyd, the untiring friend of labor and enemy of monopoly, and the father of muck-raking in America, spoke on "The Settlement and Its Relation to the Labor Movement."

The work on education was divided into two sections: a preliminary congress during the week of July 18, and an international congress during the week of July 24. During the first week, university extension, education of the blind, manual and art education, education of the negro, and the function of the teacher were discussed in thirteen sections. The work of the second week, which included a Business and Commercial College Congress and a session of the American Association of Educators of Colored Youth, was divided into fifteen sections. Into the discussions on General Education, Hamlin Garland and Thomas Morgan were said to have infused the doctrines of socialism. Under the supervision of the National Educational Association, William T. Harris, founder of the St. Louis School of Philosophy, Bishop Fallows, and Eugene Martin took the lead in the discussion of Herbart's *Pedagogical Philosophy*. To the congresses on psychology, Josiah Royce sent his paper discussing the dependence of psychology on physiology. The Congress on Higher Education occupied nine sessions, headed by President Rogers and Mrs. Brainard. The problems of women's colleges were presented by Sarah Whiting and Mary A. Jordan; those of graduate work by W. G. Hale. Three important sessions began July 26; A. F. West, Gilman, Angell, and Patton were present. A professor from Princeton, Woodrow Wilson, made a strong plea

for the antecedent liberal education in all cases for students of law, medicine, and theology. A. Tolman Smith, of the United States Bureau of Education, said of this congress: "On the humanity side this Congress is an assurance such as the world has never before received that the human family is one in the aspirations and the necessities of its spiritual being."¹⁹

The Congress of Art and Engineering began August 1. Mechanics; Civil, Military, Metallurgical, Marine, and Naval Engineering; Architecture; Water Commerce; Aerial Navigation; Painting; and Sculpture—each had its congress. S. W. Thompson delivered a paper on "The Economic Value of a Ship Canal from the Great Lakes to the Seas." F. Hopkinson Smith presented his paper on "The Illustrative Arts of America."

On August 7 the Congress on Jurisprudence and Law Reform began with Henry W. Rogers as Chairman. Leroy D. Thoman spoke, and led the Department on Civil Service Reform. City Government was in charge of W. Q. Gresham; Suffrage was managed by Thomas W. Palmer; and Arbitration and Peace by Josiah Quincy. D. D. Field, who was responsible for the setting up of the New York Code of Pleading and Procedure, spoke on "The Codification of American Law." Charles Ashley of Toledo, a city which Brand Whitlock later made famous, discussed municipal government.

At the Congress of Suffragists, August 9, the economic condition of women was considered. Florence Kelley, Mary Kenney, and Carrie Brown spoke for the working woman. Mrs. Henrotin showed that 3,000,000 women in

¹⁹See, *Proceedings*, National Education Association, New York, 1894; *The Congress of Education at Chicago*, Gabriel Compayre, translated by William T. Harris for the National Bureau of Education; *Education*, May, 1894; and *The Educational Congresses*, G. W. Lagerstedt, Stockholm, 1893.

the United States were earning independent incomes. Women were beginning to attract the attention of the financial world: men and women as investors in building and loan associations were as one to four. Women were urged to attend the meetings of stockholders; they would learn the secrets of finance and would be a conservative influence in the world of money.

James E. Roy headed the Congress on Africa which was attended by 1,500 people. A Congress on Medical Jurisprudence, a Dental Congress, and a Trades Journal Congress met during the week of August 14. D. D. Field talked on "The Waste and Recoil of War" at the Arbitration and Peace Congress of August 16.

The main event of the Congress on Science and Philosophy, August 21, 1893, was the appearance at the Electric Congress of Von Helmholtz, the noted German scientist. At the Philosophical Congress, Royce, Paul Shorey, J. Clark Murray, and R. N. Foster led the discussions. Elliott Coues headed the Psychical Science Congress; George W. Hough, Mathematics and Astronomy; Daniel Brinton, Anthropology; and Stephen A. Forbes, Zoology.

Into the week of August 28 were crowded the congresses of the Jewish Denomination; the Social and Economic Sciences, under John H. Gray; the Single Tax Congress under Joseph T. Ripley; and the Congress on Labor. At the last congress, representatives of labor from France, England, Belgium, and Germany were present. H. D. Lloyd was the main speaker. Bishop Fallows spoke for the church and urged the prevention in the future of the destitution and want which prevailed at the time. William Clarke of the Fabian Society represented England; Victor Delahaye of the Council of Labor, France. Herbert Burrows of England bluntly declared that the workers had to combine before they could solve their problems. Kate Field read

Lady Dilke's paper on "The Industrial Position of Women in the Labor Market of the United Kingdom." Kate Field announced that Chauncey M. Depew and Carroll D. Wright had received her suggestion of a Department of Labor in the Cabinet favorably, and had approved her idea of a practical labor bureau with affiliated societies all through the country.

The Congress on Sunday Rest, meeting on September 28, discussed the physiological, industrial, social, political, and religious aspects of the problem. Congresses on Patents, Evangelical Alliance, a Humane Congress, Public Health, Agriculture—including fisheries, household economics, farm life and mental culture, ornithology, and forestry,—a second World's Congress of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and a Real Estate Congress completed the list of 200 congresses held from May to October, 1893. The prodigious work begun in 1889 was at an end, and the Final Session was held on October 28, 1893, over which Charles C. Bonney presided.

The congress which impressed the world by the enormous stretch of its inclusiveness, the organizational genius it displayed, and the implications of universality and tolerance, was the Parliament of Religions which met from August 27 to October 15. The bibliography which was available for this one congress in 1896 was as long as all the other bibliographies combined. The proceedings would have taken, according to one estimate, forty volumes if they were published. The only religions which were not represented at Chicago were Mohammedanism and the Christianity of the Church of England. Max Müller declared later at Oxford that the Congress Auxiliary was the most important part of the Exposition and marvelled that it "could have become the greatest success of the past year, and I do not hesitate to say, could now take its place as one of the most

memorable events in the history of the world." He declared that the oecumenical council, arranged by Bonney and Barrows, was unique and unprecedented in the history of the world. The sight of a common prayer and a common blessing received at Chicago, now from a Rabbi, now from a Buddhist Priest, remained long in the minds of the thoughtful. Paul Bourget wrote, "I know no book more comforting than the little pamphlet published here last April and bearing this motto: 'Not Things, but Men.' " ²⁰

The colossal work of organizing and administering the World's Columbian Exposition and the World's Congress Auxiliary has been sketched against the background of the nation's industrial advance. It is safe to assert that for the first time the people of America saw before them a great product of their own civilization. The American felt somehow, as Paul Bourget expressed it for him, that the "vast, ingenuous commonwealth, fed unceasingly by heterogeneous elements which it must assimilate; this vast civilization, with its contrasts of extreme refinement and primitive crudity," was "unmistakably symbolized by its central city—miracle of native will, summary of calculating, panting energy and inexhaustible impulse." ²¹ To Alice Freeman Palmer it was "the climacteric expression of America's existence . . . During the last two years there has hardly been a village in the country which has not had its club or circle studying the history of the United States." ²² Did the American feel at home at the Exposition? Henry Adams answered, "Honestly, he had the air of enjoying it

²⁰Minot B. Savage, *World's Congress of Religions*, Arena Publishing Company, 1893; J. W. Hanson, *World's Congress of Religions*, W. B. Conkey and Company, 1894; *Neely's History*, edited by Walter R. Houghton; Schaff, Philip, *The Reunion of Christendom*; and, Max Müller, "The Real Significance of the Parliament of Religions," *Arena*, December, 1894.

²¹Paul Bourget, "A Farewell to the White City," *Cosmopolitan*, XVI, 133.

²²A. F. Palmer, "Some Lasting Results of the Fair," *Forum*, XVI, 515.

as though it were his own; he felt it was good; he was proud of it; for the most part, he acted as though he had passed his life in landscape gardening and architectural decoration." It was not long before landscape gardening and architectural decoration and plan had permeated so far into the culture of the United States that many Americans could feel that they had passed at least some part of their lives in such surroundings.

The Lake Front Plan of Chicago, 1902, was a direct outgrowth of the plan which the Merchants' Club of Chicago had approved April 11, 1897. Later, Burnham was called to Washington to revive the L'Enfant plan and lay out the future development of the Mall. His influence is revealed in Cleveland. Not long after the Exposition opened, the Fine Arts Society in New York was organized, and the Municipal Art Society under Richard M. Hunt was formed. In humbler, but no less important spheres the lessons of planning were grounded. The American housewife returned home from the Fair with instructions from the Rumford Kitchen on the preparation of a standard thirty-cent meal; she had been shown the essentials of diet, sanitation, and economic management. These details of departure from the hit-and-miss methods of an earlier decade are important for a history of the permeation of the idea of planning into American life.

William Dean Howells, inspired by the White City, wrote a challenge to Americans: "And yet you are afraid to have it upon the largest possible scale, the national scale, the scale commensurate with the whole body politic, which implicates care for every citizen as the liege of collectivity. When you have monopoly of such proportions money will cease to have any office among you, and such a beautiful creation as this will have effect from a consensus of the common will and wishes." He knew what the future would

bring: "It may be rapt from sight . . . but it will remain still in the hearts of your great people. An immortal principle, higher than use, higher even than beauty, is expressed in it, and the time will come when they will look back upon it, and recognize in it the first embodiment of the Altrurian idea among them, and will cherish it forever in their history, as the earliest achievement of a real civic life."²³

²³W. D. Howells, "Letters of an Altrurian Traveller," *Cosmopolitan*, XVI, 218.

THE DIFFERENT EDITIONS OF THE "DEBATES OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS"

By

R. GERALD McMURTRY

In the entire field of Lincolniana there is no book more closely associated with Abraham Lincoln than the one published in 1860 entitled *Debates of Lincoln and Douglas*¹. In recent years a study of the books that Lincoln read has been made, and much interesting information concerning some of them has been brought to light². However, it is likely that Lincoln gave more time and thought to the compiling, editing, and publishing of the *Debates of Lincoln and Douglas* than to any other book that he ever owned or read.

During presidential campaigns there are usually published numerous campaign biographies concerning the nominees of the different political parties³. These biographies are written by authors in sympathy with the party and platform of their candidate, and they are consequently very laudatory in their comments regarding the subject of their work. Such biographies give brief attention to the candidate's life, placing the greatest amount of emphasis on their character and ability. From an historian's standpoint little

¹Daniel Fish, *Lincoln Bibliography*, p. 269: No. 586—"Several issues with slight variations in the preliminary matter."

²The outstanding authorities on the books that Lincoln read are M. L. Houser, Rufus Rockwell Wilson, H. E. Barker, and William E. Barton.

³There were approximately fifteen different Lincoln campaign biographies published in the 1860 campaign. Many of these biographies were published in several editions.

credibility can be given such works, due to the extreme prejudice of the authors.

In addition to the biographies written during the 1860 campaign, there was published in book form the famous Illinois senatorial debates of 1858 which were delivered by Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas⁴. These books were distributed in great numbers throughout the nation. The 1860 presidential campaign was unique, due to the fact that there was only one paramount issue—slavery. This question had assumed gigantic proportions, and the debates were the last words of a long and bitter controversy which eventually culminated in the Civil War.

The debates were not merely an episode in Illinois or American politics. They marked an era that was the beginning of the end of the seventy-year war over slavery, which began with its first battle in the Federal Convention of 1787⁵. During these controversies Lincoln convinced his audiences of his sincerity and profound convictions regarding the wrongs of slavery. Douglas had become the foremost apologist for slavery by his policies favoring territorial expansion, and although he was the successful candidate for the Senate in 1858, sentiment in the intervening two years rapidly changed, placing him in a defensive position⁶. The platform which made for Douglas' success in 1858, caused his downfall in the presidential election of 1860.

So important politically did the debates of 1858 become in the presidential year, that Governor-Elect Dennison, the Republican State Central Committee of Equalization, and

⁴The debates were delivered in Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro, and Charleston. This year (1933) is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the debates.

⁵Hannis Taylor, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates and their Application to Present Problems"; *North American Review*, Feb., 1909, p. 162.

⁶Richard E. Day, "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates"; *University of the State of New York Bulletin to the Schools*, Feb. 1, 1927, p. 131.

the Republican State Officers of Ohio requested from Lincoln copies of the speeches to be published for use as a handbook for the approaching presidential election. Lincoln sent the copies, not as he had written them, but as they were reported and printed in the newspapers by the friends of each party. In regard to changes in the text of the speeches, Lincoln said:

It would be an unwarrantable liberty for us to change a word or letter in his (Douglas's) and the changes I have made in mine, you perceive, are verbal only, and very few in number. I wish the reprints to be precisely as the copies I send without comment whatever⁷.

Historians, students, and librarians have often considered Lincoln an author, due to the fact that originally the material for a part of this book was furnished by him and because he took an active interest in having it published. It has been said by several Lincoln biographers, notably Lamon, that Lincoln liked to see his speeches in print⁸. However, the approaching presidential campaign made the publication of this book much more important politically than any personal vanity Lincoln may have had in their publication⁹.

While Lincoln may rightfully be credited with many accomplishments, he was not an author, and he never wrote a book¹⁰. The debates of both Lincoln and Douglas were delivered with freedom, wit, and adaptability to their audiences¹¹. The debates were never rigid and carefully pre-

⁷Letter to G. M. Parsons and Others; Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works* (New York, The Century Co., 1894), Vol. 1, pp. 595, 596.

⁸William E. Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and His Books*, pp. 20, 21.

⁹"He was tremendously pleased when a firm in Ohio published the Lincoln-Douglas Debates." M. L. Houser, *Abraham Lincoln, Student*, p. 23.

¹⁰"Lincoln never wrote a book. J. McCann Davis reproduced in facsimile the one book that might be called Lincoln's, being a series of newspaper clippings from his speeches on slavery, with annotations in his handwriting, arranged in a small blank book as an exposition of his authorized utterances on that subject." Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and His Books*, p. 20.

¹¹Marvin G. Bauer, "Persuasive Methods in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates;" *The Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, Feb., 1927, p. 29.

pared arguments. There was a speaker-audience relationship caused by the reactions of both speaker and audience. These debates were probably not delivered with the thought in mind that they would eventually be published in book form, but both speakers were aware that such controversies would be published in the Illinois papers.

When Lincoln delivered the copy for publication to the publishers there were many instances of phraseology that he possibly would have changed if he had felt free to do so¹². He did, in many instances, cut out the words "laughter" and "applause" which reporters had included in their notes. After he was requested to have the speeches published Lincoln became in a sense a compiler or editor, but, even in this case, the book should not be credited to his name because the greatest amount of copy is taken up by Douglas. On almost all occasions Douglas said more in the limited amount of time than his opponent.

The newspaper reporters in reality are the authors of the book. Why Lincoln's name preceded Douglas's in the title is not known unless the debates were familiarly known by the people of Illinois as the Lincoln-Douglas debates, or because the book was published by the Republican party. If the debates had proven as acceptable to the Democrats as

¹²"He edited from newspaper reports for publication in book form his part in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. I have seen the original sheets which he used, and it is notable that he did not change phraseology that he might possibly have wished to have modified slightly, and that he quite generally cut out the words 'laughter' and 'applause' with which the favorable press reports sprinkled the records of his addresses." Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and His Books*, p. 20.

On the 21st of January, 1860, James W. Sheahan requested of Lincoln copies of the debates to which he replied in part: "You labor under a mistake somewhat injurious to me if you suppose I have revised the speeches in any just sense of the word. I only made some small verbal corrections, mostly such as an intelligent reader would make for himself, not feeling justified to do more when republishing the speeches along with those of Senator Douglas, his and mine being mutually answers and replies to one another." Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*, Vol. 1, p. 597.

they did to the Republicans, in 1860, the book would likely be known today as the Douglas-Lincoln debates.

In the publishing of the *Debates of Lincoln and Douglas* Lincoln had the following to say concerning their probable publication in a letter written to William A. Ross, dated March 26, 1859:

Yours of the 18th was received a week ago. I would really be pleased with a publication substantially as you propose. But I would suggest a few variations from your plan. I would not include the Republican platform; because that would give the work a one-sided party cast, unless the democratic platform is also included.

I would not take all the speeches from the *Press-Tribune*; but I would take mine from that paper; and those of Judge Douglas from the *Chicago Times*. This would represent each of us, as reported by his own friends, and thus be mutual and fair. I would take the speeches alone; rigidly excluding all comments of the newspapers. I would include the correspondence between Judge Douglas and myself which led to the joint discussions. I would call the thing 'Illinois political canvass of 1858;' and, as falling within the title, I would select and include half a dozen of the National Democratic speeches. Last autumn and winter I got up a scrap-book precisely on the plan I have stated. The parts stand in the order following—

My speech at Springfield, at the Republican Convention, June 16, 1858.

Douglas's speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858.

Douglas's speech at Bloomington, July 16, 1858.

Douglas's speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858.

My speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858.

The correspondence which led to the joint discussions.

The joint discussions, in the order in which they occurred.

The National Democratic speeches, to come in after the others, in the order among themselves in which they were delivered.

In my own speeches I have corrected only a few small typographical errors. The other speeches I have not touched; but merely pasted them in from the papers in which they were reported.

Judge Douglas would have the right to correct typographical errors in his, if he desires; but I think the necessity, in his case, would be less than in mine; because he had two hired reporters traveling with him, and probably revised their manuscripts before they went to the press; while I had no reporter of my own, but depended on a very excellent one sent by the *Press-Tribune*; but who never wanted to show me his notes or manuscripts; so that the first I saw of my speeches after delivering them, was in the *Press-Tribune* precisely as they now stand.

My scrap book would be the best thing to print from; still, as it cost me a good deal of labor to get it up, and as I am very desirous to preserve the substance of it permanently, I would not let it go out of my control. If an arrangement could be made to print it in Springfield, under my own supervision, I would allow the scrap-book to be used, and would claim no share in any profit that could be made out of the publication¹³.

The book was published by Follett, Foster and Company of Columbus, Ohio¹⁴. The widespread interest

¹³Gilbert A. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 105-107.

¹⁴It has been said that the publishers presented Lincoln with one hundred free copies of the debates. In a letter written on June 9, 1860, to the publishers Douglas acknowledged receipt by express of a dozen copies. The books were purchased for Douglas by a Mr. Cox. The first volume of the debates to come to Douglas's attention was of the second edition which he thought was the first. He says in a letter to the publishers: "I saw in the preface to the first edition of your publication, which is omitted in the copy sent to me, a correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the Ohio Republican Committee . . ." As the second edition is the only one which contains the complete Lincoln-Republican Committee correspondence it is evident that Douglas confused the second edition as being that of the first edition.

created by the publication of the debates became a great detriment to Douglas and his party because the debates were decidedly pro-Lincoln in 1860. So much was Douglas concerned with the book's growing popularity that on June 9, 1860, he wrote to the publisher, in part, as follows:

I feel it my duty to protest against the unfairness of this publication and especially against the alterations and mutilations in the reports of my speeches . . . In short, I regard your publication as partial and unfair, and designed to do me an injustice by placing me in a false position¹⁵.

In this letter Senator Douglas requested that his letter, together with the correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the committee which led to the publication, be inserted as a preface to all the future editions.

The publishers replied to Senator Douglas on June 16, 1860. Their letter which is published in the book along with the Douglas letter states that they have no concern in the political significance of the book, and that their interests are only those of a publisher¹⁶. They also state that the foreman of their composition department is a Democrat and that any corrections he (Douglas) might request to be made, they will gladly insert. Their letter is not without sarcasm as can be seen by this excerpt:

We had not supposed, however, that you would call in question the accuracy of a reporter whom you had strongly commended to others for employment.

This volume presents Lincoln's speeches as they appeared in the *Chicago Press-Tribune* and Douglas's as they appeared in the *Chicago Times*. The speeches of both candi-

¹⁵*Debates of Lincoln and Douglas*, p. 586; sixth and sixth (a) editions.

¹⁶"From an examination of these [speeches], it will be seen that Lincoln did not make any important changes in his speeches, and that the editors were very fair in their reprint of the speeches of his opponent." Edwin Earle Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, p. 86.

dates were published simultaneously in both Chicago papers. As the Chicago *Times* was partisan, the speeches of Lincoln in that paper were not satisfactory to his constituency and this disfavor with the *Times* led to the charge that they were purposely mutilated in order to make Douglas appear more scholarly to the public.

This charge was denied by Sheridan and Binmore, reporters of the *Times*. It is true that as paid reporters they would take more pains with the recording of the Douglas speeches because he was receiving the support of their paper. The recording of the debates was done in the open air, amid much confusion, and gaps were likely to occur in the reporter's notes. These gaps when occurring in Douglas's speeches would be straightened out by his own reporters, who would not be so interested in the gaps of Lincoln's speeches. Due to the fact that the poorly-recorded Lincoln speeches in the *Times* were not used instead of the better-recorded Lincoln speeches in the *Press-Tribune*, the charge was made by the Douglas faction that Lincoln's speeches were corrected before being published in book form¹⁷.

The publishing house, in order to make the book appear less partisan, omitted in their later editions the Republican correspondence and included, in the preliminary matter, numerous corrections and alterations that had been made in both Mr. Douglas's and Mr. Lincoln's speeches. As the campaign continued, the book increased in popularity. Six editions were published over a period of a few months¹⁸. The third edition of the book reported a sale of 15,000

¹⁷Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, pp. 591-595.

¹⁸The first edition of the debates was in the process of publication during the month of January, 1860. In a letter to James W. Sheahan, dated January 24, 1860, Lincoln has the following to say: "Yours of the 21st, requesting copies of my speeches now in progress of publication in Ohio, is received. I have no such copies now at my control having sent the only set I ever had to Ohio." Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*, Vol. 1, p. 597.

copies; the fourth edition a sale of 16,000 copies; and the fifth edition states that 24,996 copies had been sold. The sixth edition informs the public that nearly 30,000 copies had been sold, and it is to be supposed that with the additional sale of a variant of the sixth edition approximately 50,000 copies were distributed to the public.

A comparative study of the six editions of the *Debates of Lincoln and Douglas* will show that the only changes in the different issues occur in the preliminary matter and not in the text. The text in all editions is identical. In the preliminary matter of the sixth and sixth (a) editions the corrections that were made before the type was set are shown. A greater number of corrections occur in Lincoln's speeches than in Douglas's¹⁹. The preliminary matter proves as interesting to the historian as the text, due to the bitterness of the campaign as shown in the carefully worded correspondence, and the unmistakable trend of the campaign toward Lincoln which can easily be read between the lines.

After the election of Lincoln the campaign publication was no longer extensively read; and today, with the exception of a few Lincoln quotations, little attention is given to this purely political controversy. While the debates do not rank on a par with Lincoln's great state documents, and in oratory and rhetoric do not compare with the speeches of the early statesmen, like Webster, Clay and Calhoun, yet in political significance they have no equal²⁰. The publication of the debates aroused the political spirit of the 1860

¹⁹Thirty corrections and alterations were made in Lincoln's speeches. Lincoln included no omissions. Eight corrections and omissions were made in Douglas's speeches.

²⁰"He was also a writer whose literary style underwent a remarkable and most interesting evolution." Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and His Books*, p. 21; Bauer, "Persuasive Methods in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, Feb., 1927, p. 29.

campaign as much as Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* aroused the martial spirit of the Civil War²¹.

The collecting of the six editions of the debates would prove to be an interesting endeavor.²² In order that librarians and book collectors may be able to identify this book in its different editions, the title page of the first edition is given with the comparative changes which occur in the preliminary matter of each edition:

Political Debates/between/Hon. Abraham Lincoln/
and/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas./In the Celebrated
Campaign of 1858, in Illinois;/Including the Preced-
ing Speeches of Each, at Chi/cago, Springfield, Etc.;
Also, the Two Great/Speeches of Mr. Lincoln in Ohio,
in 1859,/as/Carefully Prepared by the Reporters of
each party, and Published/At the Times of their De-
livery./Columbus;/Follett, Foster and Company./1860.

The first edition of the debates has the usual mechanical make-up of the average book, which includes the title page, copyright, and table of contents.²³ The second edition con-

²¹"Early in 1852, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was published in book form. One hundred thousand copies were sold in two months, and within a year the American public had absorbed three times that number." Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, Vol. 2, p. 137.

"'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was the literary sensation of the period. It did more to create sentiment against slavery and even more against the South than all that had been or was to be spoken or written on the subject. In this sense, Mrs. Stowe may be said to have been a principal agent in bringing about the Civil War. 'Is this the little woman who made this big war?' asked Lincoln when she went to see the President during the conflict." *Ibid*, p. 138. "He (Lincoln) cared little for fiction, though Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' moved him deeply while reading it." Henry B. Rankin, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 130.

²²Six editions with a sixth (a) variant of the debates are to be found in the library of the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Indiana. A thorough search has been made in order to determine if any other editions of the debates were published. In the event other editions or variants are extant the Lincoln National Life Foundation would like to know of them.

²³A copy of this work which he (Lincoln) inscribed and presented to a friend was recently sold to a collector for \$800.00. (Edition not given.) Houser, *Abraham Lincoln, Student*, p. 23.

tains in addition two pages of correspondence written in December, 1859, between Lincoln and the Republican Committee regarding the publication of the debates²⁴. These two pages of correspondence are inserted between the copy-right page and the table of contents.

Lincoln's reply to the Republican Committee is featured in the third edition in order that the reader may understand that the speeches were published as they were recorded by the newspaper reporters. This edition also contains three pages of book advertisements, one of which announces the publication on June 12th, of W. D. Howells' biography entitled *Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln*.²⁵ The other books advertised were typical of the day, and are entitled *The Great Expose of the Crimes of our Government against the Slave, or The Exiles of Florida*, and *Adelia, the Octoroon*.

The publication of W. D. Howells' biography of Abraham Lincoln was for some reason delayed and the fourth edition of the debates contains an announcement in the publishers' advertisements that the book will be ready on June 20th, eight days later than previously advertised. The fourth edition contains seven printed pages of preliminary matter, the greatest amount of copy being devoted to book advertisements.

The title page of the fifth edition is a variant of the first, second, third, and fourth editions, and also the sixth (a) edition, being identical with the sixth edition.²⁶ The publishers announce in the advertisement of the Howells

²⁴Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 595, 596.

²⁵Fish 597. "The Lincoln biography is by William D. Howells; that of Mr. Hamlin, by John L. Hayes. A New York imprint, also, same year." Daniel Fish, *Lincoln Bibliography*, p. 272.

²⁶A photograph of the title page of the fifth edition is shown in Houser's *Abraham Lincoln, Student*, p. 40. The title pages of the fifth and sixth editions list the following book agents: Boston: Brown and Taggard; New York: W. A. Townsend and Co.; Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Co.; Detroit: Putnam Smith and Co.

biography of Lincoln in this edition that 9,000 copies have been sold.

The greatest amount of historical preliminary matter is to be found in the sixth and sixth (a) editions. This introductory material numbers seven printed pages containing only one book advertisement. It is interesting to note that not until the fifth edition was printed, did Senator Douglas protest against what he termed the unfairness of the publication. About 30,000 copies had been sold which did not contain the Douglas letter. Assuming that 50,000 copies were sold, the Douglas protest failed to reach three-fifths of the purchasers of the book. The sixth edition also contains the corrections made in Mr. Douglas's and Mr. Lincoln's speeches. A letter is inserted with the corrections signed by James F. Tourney and I. W. Short concerning the corrections and alterations as follows:

We, the undersigned, having examined the copy of Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas's speeches, as reported and printed by the friends of the respective parties, and as furnished for publication in book form, by Mr. Lincoln, hereby certify that the above are all the corrections, alterations, and omissions made therein. The reporters' notes of applause, cheers, etc., are omitted in all cases where an answer was not required from the speaker.

The sixth (a) edition has seven printed pages of preliminary matter, one of the pages being devoted to the advertisement of the book entitled *The Poets and Poetry of the West*. This same book advertisement appears in the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions. The title page is not identical with the sixth edition, containing different names of the publisher's book agents.²⁷ As the Douglas protest let-

²⁷The sixth (a) edition is identical with the sixth edition with the exception of the imprint. This slight change of imprint should not constitute a new numbered edition. The title page of the sixth (a) edition lists the following book agents: Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Co.; New York: M. Doolody; Pittsburgh: Hunt & Miner; Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory and Co.

ter was written in June, 1860, early enough to appear in the sixth and sixth (a) editions, it is thought that the sixth (a) edition was printed in the early fall, only a few weeks before the election, for eastern readers and politicians.

It is rather remarkable that this book, published without sequence and containing dry political controversy, would appeal to so many readers. In many instances complicated terms are used which would require a thorough knowledge of politics, economics, and law to fully understand. The fact that approximately 50,000 copies of this book were sold indicates quite a lot of intelligent thinking on the part of the voters. It is unlikely that a book similar to the debates on some present day issue would find as ready a sale as did this unique publication.²⁸

²⁸It is to be supposed that Lincoln personally kept a copy of the debates to place in his library. Several copies are extant containing his inscription. Brown University has a photostat of Lincoln's inscription in a copy and Mr. Oliver Barrett of Chicago has an inscribed copy in his Lincoln collection. A copy is also extant in which is inscribed in Lincoln's hand in heavy, clear pencil:

Oliver Drake
from
Abraham Lincoln

Below in another hand is "May 1860." This volume (1928) is the property of Alice C. (Mrs. Oliver, Jr.) Drake of Evanston, Illinois. Mr. Drake, Sr., stated to his son, Oliver, Jr., that on one occasion he called on Lincoln in Springfield and they discussed the debates. Lincoln took a copy from the shelves of his office, inscribed the copy and presented it to Mr. Drake. It is supposed that this volume was one of a hundred given to Lincoln by the publishers. However, autographed copies are extreme rarities.

HISTORICAL MARKERS FOR ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS

By
PAUL M. ANGLE

The State of Illinois is rich in history. For more than two and a half centuries white men have been working out their destinies within her present boundaries. Over her hills and prairies the flags of three different nations have waved. Decisive events have occurred on her soil. And in each century of her recorded history men of heroic stature have attained enduring fame in Illinois—Marquette and La Salle, George Rogers Clark, Lincoln, Douglas and Grant.

Yet romantic and important as the story of Illinois may be, there is ample evidence for believing that the generality of our own citizens are unfamiliar with more than small segments of it. And travelers from outside the state, of whom there are many thousands annually, may cross from boundary to boundary without becoming acquainted with any part of Illinois' historic heritage except, perhaps, the fact that it was the home of Abraham Lincoln, and that his body is buried in our soil.

Those who are interested in history—those who have found relaxation, intellectual occupation, and perhaps inspiration, in the story of the past—will not need to be convinced of the desirability of promoting wider knowledge of the history of Illinois and greater interest in the state's story. Other states—notably Virginia—have demonstrated

that one of the surest means of attaining these ends is a system of historical markers along the highways.

At first sight anything like an adequate system of historical markers would seem to be too expensive even to be considered in these days of necessary economy. Upon examination, however, it has been found that several different agencies of the state government can, by cooperating fully and working patiently rather than speedily, create a system of historical markers in Illinois at practically no expense to the citizens of the state.

With the active interest of Governor Horner, himself a keen student of Illinois history, the following plan has been perfected: Markers will be cast at the Pontiac Reformatory in accordance with designs prepared by the State Supervising Architect. The initial cost will be defrayed by the Illinois State Historical Society. The markers will be erected and maintained by the Maintenance Bureau of the Division of Highways. By proceeding slowly, no extra help of any kind will be required. The sole expense to the state will be the cost of the cast iron pipe standards on which the markers will be mounted and an occasional coat of paint.

Of several designs submitted by the State Supervising Architect, one approximately three and a half feet square, with rounded corners, and surmounted by the state seal, has been chosen. Inscriptions will be of raised letters, painted black on a white background. Inscription headings are two and one-half inches high, while the letters of the text measure one and one-half inches. Space is available for approximately fifty words. Each marker bears the simple credit line, "Erected by the State of Illinois," and the date of erection.

The markers are to be placed parallel with the highway and at the outer edge of the right of way. Gravel will be

placed on the shoulder so that cars may pull off the cement slab in all kinds of weather. Persons with normal eyesight will have no difficulty in reading the marker texts from their cars. It is hoped that eventually an attractive and distinctive background of shrubbery may be planted for each marker, but this is a development not contemplated for the immediate future.

The Illinois State Historical Society has assumed the responsibility of selecting sites to be marked and preparing inscriptions. To perform this duty Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the Society's President, has appointed the following Advisory Committee on Historical Markers: Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Society; John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; James A. James, Evanston; George Thomas Palmer, Springfield; Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; George W. Smith, Carbondale; Frank E. Stevens, Sycamore; and Clint Clay Tilton, Danville. This committee first decides whether a given site has sufficient historical importance to deserve a marker, and then passes upon the accuracy of the text submitted by the Secretary.

At the present time twenty-two markers are in process of manufacture, either in the foundry at Pontiac or in the office of the State Supervising Architect. Inscriptions for others are being prepared. It is hoped that fifty markers will be erected before the end of the coming summer.

One group of markers already passed concerns places of Lincoln interest. The inscriptions which follow are typical.

LINCOLN'S FIRST ILLINOIS HOME

On an eminence overlooking the Sangamon River three miles south of here stood the first home of Lincoln in Illinois. To this site came the Lincoln family in March, 1830. Here they lived until 1831,

when the parents removed to Coles County and Abraham set out on his own career.

(To be erected on Route 10 west of Decatur at junction of spur to cabin site.)

POSTVILLE COURT HOUSE SITE

From 1839 to 1848 the seat of Logan County was Postville, which centered in the court house located on this site. In this structure Abraham Lincoln, a member of the traveling bar of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, attended court twice a year.

(To be erected on north side of street, Route 4.)

Another group relates to episodes of the Black Hawk War. Typical inscriptions follow:

PROPHETSTOWN

Prophetstown occupies the site of the village of the Winnebago Prophet, which the Illinois volunteers destroyed on May 10, 1832, in the first act of hostility in the Black Hawk War.

(One marker on Route 78-82 to be erected in landscaped triangle at north end of village.)

INDIAN CREEK MASSACRE

On May 20, 1832, hostile Indians, mainly Potawatomi, massacred fifteen men, women and children of the Indian Creek settlement two miles to the west. Two girls, Rachel and Sylvia Hall, were carried into captivity and later ran-

somed. All had disregarded the warning of Shabbona, the white man's friend.

(One marker on Route 23, west side, at junction with gravel road leading to Shabbona marker.)

APPLE RIVER FORT

Here, during the Black Hawk War, was located Apple River Fort. On June 24, 1832, it was attacked by 200 warriors. Within were many women and children, but few men. Mrs. Elizabeth Armstrong rallied the women and inspired the defenders until relief arrived. Elizabeth is named in her honor.

(One marker on Route 5 at Elizabeth.)

For the rest, the markers adopted to date cover a variety of subjects ranging from incidents of French exploration to the Civil War. The subjects covered may be illustrated by the three inscriptions which are given below.

THE GREAT ILLINOIS VILLAGE

South of here the Great Village of the Illinois extended for three miles along the north side of the Illinois River. To this historic Indian town came La Salle, Tonti, Marquette, Allouez and other explorers and missionaries. Here, in September, 1680, the Iroquois attacked the Illinois, dispersed them and destroyed their village.

(One marker on Route 7, south side, 3-3½ miles east of the Utica spur.)

PETER CARTWRIGHT

Near Pleasant Plains the famous Methodist circuit rider, Peter Cart-

wright, made his home from 1824 until his death in 1872. His powerful preaching led many thousands into the church, and made him a dominant figure in the religious life of Illinois for half a century.

(North side Route 125 in Pleasant Plains.)

CAMP BUTLER

Camp Butler, Civil War concentration camp for Illinois Volunteers, occupied a large area in this vicinity from 1861 to 1866. It was also a prison camp for captured Confederates. Now a national cemetery, it contains the graves of 1642 Union and Confederate soldiers.

(Marker to be erected on Route 10 at Camp Butler National Cemetery.)

To determine what episodes or individuals in Illinois history were important enough to merit markers is a delicate and difficult task. Is the fact that Lincoln spoke at Lacon on September 30, 1856, of sufficient importance to justify a marker? If so, must not markers be erected at the dozens of other towns and cities in Illinois which enjoy the same distinction? Should the tract of land which Daniel Webster owned a short distance west of Peru be marked? One would think that the trail which George Rogers Clark and his men followed from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia in 1778 should be indicated—but is it really important enough to justify the eight or ten markers which would be needed?

The advisory committee has been unable to formulate iron-clad rules for answering questions such as these. In specific cases, however, its members, working indepen-

dently, have been almost unanimous in their decisions. The committee believes that at least in the early stages of this project a conservative policy is much more desirable than a liberal one. Additional markers can easily be erected; but if trivial incidents are commemorated the project will suffer in dignity and value.

Another difficult question is that of historic sites inside the limits of the larger cities. The marking program is limited to the hard road system. However, many sites deserving of markers are not on the state routes, and even if they were, the danger of interfering with traffic would make the erection of markers unwise. The alternative would seem to be the erection of markers on the hard roads at the city limits, summarizing the historical importance of the city. But to this solution there are two objections. In the first place, it requires several identical markers, and thus increases expense. In the second place, some cities are so important historically that an adequate summary cannot be given in the available space. Alton furnishes a good example. Merely to enumerate her claims for consideration—the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, the Mexican War concentration camp, the first state penitentiary, the last Lincoln-Douglas debate, her one-time commercial rivalry of St. Louis—is to take up half of the fifty-word space limit.

Faced with these difficulties, those directing the marking project have decided for the time being to concentrate on historic places outside of the larger cities, and leave the problem of historical markers in cities for further and more careful consideration in the future.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society and other readers of the *Journal* can be of very real help in the accomplishment of this project. For one thing, the advisory committee will welcome suggestions regarding places to be

marked. In making recommendations specific information, especially with reference to locations, will be greatly appreciated. To describe the site of the Kellogg's Grove battlefield as "south of U. S. 20 a few miles east of Stockton" is not of much help to one who has to write an inscription and direct its location. On the other hand, a description like the following gives all necessary information: "four miles south of U. S. 20 on the north-and-south gravel road which intersects U. S. 20 five miles east of its junction with State Route 78."

In the second place, members of the Society can aid by counseling patience. With the resources at hand, only a small number of markers can be erected at a time. Many places of outstanding historical importance will be unmarked for two or three years. The committee hopes that the people of the state will understand that delay is unavoidable, and that it does not indicate neglect or indifference.

Finally, members can help by explaining the essential nature of the marking project. It is not intended to nullify or supplant the many excellent markers already erected by patriotic and historical societies. Its purpose is rather to acquaint the millions who use the hard roads of Illinois with the history of the state. The Shabbona Monument on the site of the Indian Creek Massacre in La Salle County furnishes a good example. It is an excellent memorial, and commemorates an important historical event, but it is doubtful if one out of a thousand of the motorists who pass within two miles of it on State Route 23 are even aware of its existence. The marker on the hard road will bring knowledge of the event itself; the memorial preserves the exact site. Highway marking and local marking should be regarded as complementary, rather than antagonistic, enterprises.

With the coöperation of the historical-minded citizens of Illinois, the successful completion of the highway his-

torical marking project seems assured. From it a number of benefits may be expected. Other states have found that adequate historical markers have led to notable increases in tourist traffic, and there seems to be no reason why this result should not follow in Illinois. Intangible benefits should be no less important. The markers should be a valuable educational influence. Knowledge of the past of one's community leads frequently to pride in it, and local pride means better citizenship. Finally, the markers will tend to arouse in many an historical interest now latent, and thus open an occupation for the increased leisure which the future seems to hold for all our citizens.

HISTORICAL NOTES

LINCOLN FORGERIES

The following editorial from the Rock Island *Argus* is quoted as a warning to librarians and collectors of Lincolniana:

Very deceptive Abraham Lincoln forgeries have appeared recently in New York, New England, and Chicago. Spurious documents were offered to dealers by a man who may be either the forger himself or a salesman.

Thus far the Lincoln forgeries appear to have been confined to legal documents, supposedly drawn up and signed by Lincoln in his own name or in that of one of his law firms. A feature of the documents is their length. One of the fake papers extended to some 700 words and contained three forged Lincoln signatures.

Thomas F. Madigan, authority on autographs and Lincolniana, was called in consultation, and when he examined the documents he pronounced them to be exceptionally clever forgeries. He said that one would almost think that Robert Spring, the notorious forger of Washington autographs about the time of the Civil War, had come back to life and turned his attention to Lincoln. The present forger, this expert said, extracted sheets from old ledgers bearing watermarks prior to the dates of the documents he faked. There is nothing about the paper, therefore, to arouse suspicion, except that it is slightly heavier than that usually employed by Lincoln, and is not ruled. Lincoln generally used ruled paper.

There is no sign of oxidation of the ink in these forgeries, and the ink does not show through the paper as it frequently does in authentic old documents. The

forger used ink with a slightly brownish tinge, but there is an evenness of color in the writings that is lacking in authentic Lincoln documents. In some spots the writing is an excellent imitation, but in others is poor. The signatures do not quite click, Mr. Madigan said, but some words and lines are very well done. Evidently the forger has studied the published works of Lincoln, for the faked documents are entirely plausible as to content.

About a year ago some inferior Lincoln forgeries appeared on the market, but were done so poorly that they were recognized at once as fakes. That forger confined himself to letters. The present forger is not the one of a year ago, as his fakes are much better. One of the mysteries in the present case is the forger's reason for risking long documents which give wide opportunity for study and comparison with authentic autograph manuscripts.

A LEE COUNTY CLAIM ASSOCIATION

Accounts of early settlement in Illinois contain frequent references to extra-legal combinations to prevent non-residents from bidding competitively with actual settlers, and thus either taking title to a squatter's land, or raising the price above the government minimum of \$1.25 per acre. Ordinarily these combinations were informal, and depended for their efficacy upon mutual agreement backed up by a threat of force. However, the following document, submitted by George C. Dixon, of Dixon, is evidence of the formation of a formal organization for registering and arbitrating squatter's claims, so that actual settlers could present a united front against speculators and non-residents at the government land auctions. The agreement bears sixty-one signatures.

We the undersigned agree to protect each other in our reasonable claims made according to the customs

of the country. And whenever a dispute shall occur between two members of this association they, or either of them, shall notify the Public Electors, whose duty it shall be to select three men from the society, entirely disinterested, to hear the evidence that the parties may offer, and after hearing the evidence, shall decide thereupon equitably and agreeable to the customs under which those claims were made. The Public electors shall be elected by vote, by a majority of the members of this society and shall hold their office three months, and shall be eligible a second term. It shall be the duty of the board of electors to keep a record book, in which they shall record all claims that are undisputed, which are presented for entry—and when a claim is presented for registry and is disputed, the board of Electors shall then and there notify the parties, and upon a trial and decision as aforesaid, the matter shall be forever thereafter ended. After a claim has been thirty days upon record it shall not afterwards be claimed and held under such claim by any member of this society.

Each claimant shall pay a fee of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for recording each quarter section and the board (of) electors shall be entitled to one dollar a day for services as a board, and the balance of the funds received as fees shall be kept by the board for incidental expenses.

The Board shall forthwith proceed to register the claims of this society—and whenever three members of this society shall notify the electors that they have claims to enter the electors shall give notice of a time and place at which they will register claims.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A centennial celebration commemorating the first settlement of Norwegians in the Fox River Valley will be held in Ottawa, Illinois, June 22-24, 1934, under the sponsorship of the Norwegian-American Historical Association. The committee designated by the executive board of the Association consists of: John J. Sonsteby, Chief Justice, the Municipal Court of Chicago, as chairman; J. Jørgen Thompson, Dean of Men, St. Olaf College, as secretary; Professor C. Martin Alsager; Mr. Arthur Andersen; Mr. B. O. Berge; Mr. N. A. Grevstad; Professor Marcus L. Hansen; Rev. Orlando Ingvolstad; Capt. Joseph M. Johnson; Major Birger Osland; Mr. Carleton C. Qualey; Dr. M. L. Reymert; Rev. S. O. Sigmond; Mr. Marshal Solberg.

The committee met at the office of Chief Justice Sonsteby recently and decided that arrangements should be made for having a suitable marker placed on the Nelson farm near Ottawa, which is the land preëmpted by Cleng Pearson, first Norwegian settler in the state of Illinois. The local committee also hopes to build a replica of the first Norwegian house of worship, which was used by the Cleng Pearson family and their friends, and which will be placed now on the campus of Pleasant View Luther College, Ottawa. The committee on local arrangements is: Mr. B. O. Berge, chairman; Rev. Orlando Ingvoldstad, Ottawa, secretary; and Captain Joseph M. Johnson. Sub-committees have been arranged on publicity, history, finance, program, and so forth.

Governor Horner of Illinois and several governors and other prominent persons of Norwegian descent, in all the

states of the Union, will be invited. The State of Norway will probably be officially represented.

The formation of the Peoria Historical Society on February 12, 1934, terminates a long period during which the preservation and cultivation of Peoria's colorful history has been carried on without organization.

At an organization meeting held at the Peoria University Club on January 18 plans for a permanent historical society were perfected and temporary officers elected. By Lincoln's Birthday, the date of the permanent organization meeting, sixty-two charter members had been enrolled. On that date the following officers were elected: president, Percival G. Rennick; vice-presidents, Dr. George A. Zeller and Dr. Milo T. Easton; directors, Henry H. Grimes, Marilee Barger, Dallas W. Sweeney, Naomi Lagron, Y. A. Heghin, Earnest E. East and Mrs. Electa Spangler.

The first official act of the newly organized society was to extend an invitation to the Peoria Association of Commerce and other civic groups to join in a formal celebration, in 1935, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of modern Peoria and the two-hundredth anniversary of Old Peoria.

On February 10, 1934, the St. Clair County Historical Society, meeting in Belleville, re-elected J. Nick Perrin president and E. W. Plegge secretary.

The meeting was the occasion for an announcement of a remarkable historical achievement on the part of the society's president. During the last eight months Mr. Perrin, unaided, has labeled, arranged and indexed nearly 9,000 county records of various kinds. No county in the state

excels St. Clair in the diversity and richness of historical materials. Included are documents reaching far back into the French regime and extending through the period of British occupation. One of the most important documents is a notarial record kept at Fort Chartres in 1737 and for thirty years thereafter. Altogether, there are nearly 500 documents in the French language. Many of the later records bear the signatures of men prominent in Illinois history—among them Pierre Menard, Lyman Trumbull, and Governors Edwards and Reynolds. The collection is an exceedingly valuable one. Not only the citizens of St. Clair County, but historical students all over the state, are under a heavy obligation to Mr. Perrin, and the county officials who coöperated with him, for insuring the preservation of these records and making them accessible.

In addition to President Perrin's report, short talks were made by Dr. E. A. Woelk, Miss Mary Rhein, Mrs. E. W. Twenhoefel, Frank Hollman, Mayor George A. Brechnitz, Dr. G. G. Bock and C. P. Boyer.

The Highland Park Historical Society was organized on December 20, 1933. The society plans not only to collect and disseminate the history of Highland Park and its vicinity, but also to establish a library of books written by Highland Park authors.

Stanley Faye, author of the paper, "Joliet Goes West," in this number of the Journal, spoke on the subject, "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago in Illinois," at the January meeting of the Aurora Historical Society. The February meeting of the Aurora society was held in conjunction with

the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

At a recent meeting in Sycamore, held under the direction of the DeKalb County Historical Society, preliminary plans were made for the celebration of the county's centennial. Representatives from many organizations in the county and a large number of citizens enthusiastically endorsed the formation of a centennial committee. Tentative plans call for a program of events to be held in various towns and cities of the county at different times throughout the year.

On February 20 a tablet commemorating the service of the Ninety-ninth Illinois Infantry in the Civil War was dedicated at Florence in Pike County. The tablet, located on the shore of the Illinois River just south of Florence, marks the spot where the regiment embarked on the steamer *Post Boy* for St. Louis early in 1862.

The Ninety-ninth Illinois, commanded by Col. George Bailey and made up almost entirely of Pike County men, saw exceptionally heavy service. Of the 900 men who originally enlisted, only 350 were living when the regiment was mustered out in 1865.

A pageant, to be called "The Epic of the Prairie State," is to be staged at Soldier Field, Chicago, on June 30. The sponsoring organization is the Illinois Police Association, which has chosen this means of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its existence.

Plans call for a cast of more than 5,000. Instead of an artificial stage, the entire field is to be included in the action.

Indian wigwams, cabins, forts, trains and the like are to be used in an effort to attain the highest possible degree of realism. A moving and beautiful portrayal of the stirring events of Illinois history may be expected.

In conjunction with the pageant, the Illinois Police Association plans to hold a state-wide essay contest among the school children of the state, the subject to be the history of Illinois. Prizes, to be awarded in each community, include a number of all-expense tours to the pageant. Details of the contest have not yet been announced.

Under the federal Civil Works Administration a project of unusual historical importance, the Historic American Buildings Survey, has been in progress since the first of the year. Under the direction of advisory committees composed of architects and historians, unemployed architects and draftsmen have been making measured drawings of historic buildings. Included in the survey are structures intimately associated with the lives of famous men, buildings in which great events have taken place, and buildings of architectural interest. Although drawings are made in sufficient detail to make restoration possible, the Survey's main purpose is the collection of fast-perishing data regarding the architectural history of the United States.

Crews have been working in southern and central Illinois under the direction of Edgar E. Lundeen of Bloomington, and in northern Illinois under the supervision of Earl H. Reed, Jr., of Chicago. Drawings of a considerable number of buildings have been made, but with the termination of the Civil Works Administration in prospect, it seems certain that only a fraction of the ground can be covered unless

the project can be continued under other auspices. With this contingency in mind, data regarding all structures proposed for inclusion in the Survey is being compiled and filed.

THE FOX RIVER NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT

By

CARLTON C. QUALEY

I

The century that has passed since the migration of six Norwegian families from Orleans County, New York, to La Salle County, Illinois, in 1834 has seen the emigration of over three-quarters of a million Norwegians from the old homeland to the New World, and has witnessed the establishment of countless Norwegian settlements throughout the United States and Canada, particularly in the region drained by the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. That this latter region should have become a veritable New Canaan for Norwegians was perhaps both natural and inevitable considering the fact that Norwegian emigration to America became considerable at the time that the westward movement of the American population rounded the lower end of Lake Michigan. The migration of the pioneer Norwegians to Illinois in 1834 was a part of the greater migration of thousands of families, both native American and foreign-born, westward to Illinois and beyond.

Among the thousands of Norwegian settlements in the American and Canadian Northwest, the Fox River settlement in northern Illinois has primary significance. It was the first Norwegian settlement in the American Middle West, and the second in all America in modern times. But its significance does not lie so much in being an early Nor-

THE FOX RIVER NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT

wegian settlement as it does in the fact that with the migration to Illinois of the greater part of the New York settlers, within nine years of their arrival in America, the direction and trend of Norwegian settlement was turned definitely and permanently toward the regions to the westward of Lake Michigan. Two years after the pioneer Norwegians settled in La Salle County, Illinois, the second considerable group of Norwegians emigrated to America and followed the direction taken by the group that had emigrated in 1825, not to western New York state, but to the newer frontier out in Illinois. At the time of the coming of the first considerable group of Norwegian immigrants to America aboard the sloop *Restaurationen* in 1825, one of the most promising frontier areas was that opened up by the completion of the Erie Canal in western New York. Within a decade, this region was largely taken up and land values had risen in consequence. The realization of the limited opportunities of this region as compared to the greater possibilities apparent on the frontier of the 1830s in Illinois, as reported to the Orleans County Norwegians by their "pathfinder," Cleng Peerson, led to the migration from the older frontier, now become a more settled community, to the vast reaches of unoccupied land in Illinois and beyond. When emigration of considerable extent resumed in 1836, the destination naturally became the Fox River settlement in Illinois, and thereafter the bulk of Norwegian immigrants to the United States settled in the regions to the westward and northwestward of the pioneer Fox River area.

Of almost equal significance with the fact of pointing Norwegian settlement toward the American and Canadian Northwest, is the function served by the Fox River settlement as a fertile "mother-settlement" for numerous Norwegian settlements farther westward and northwestward. It served as the first dispersion point for Norwegian immi-

grants in the Middle West. From the Fox River area, within four years of its settlement, there went forth the pioneers of new settlements across the Wisconsin border. These new settlements in turn became mother settlements for migration farther out on the frontier, and the process continued westward and northwestward as older areas became restricted in opportunities and new thousands of Europeans and native Americans streamed westward. From the Fox River settlement pioneers also penetrated across the Mississippi and established the earliest trans-Mississippi Norwegian colony, in northeastern Missouri, a short-lived settlement of small significance in the general advance of Norwegian settlement but nevertheless an interesting instance of the function of the Fox River settlement as a mother area.¹ Although new settlements on successive frontiers became the more immediate destinations of the incoming thousands of immigrants, the Fox River settlement continued to supply many of the pioneers of Norwegian settlement in northern Iowa, southern and western Wisconsin, southeastern Minnesota, and later, northwestern Minnesota, the Dakotas and beyond. Within Illinois itself, the Fox River settlement was mother to Norwegian settlements in neighboring counties and in the northern tier of counties bordering on and forming parts of the Norwegian settlements in the southern Wisconsin counties.

II

Clegg Peerson has been variously called the "pathfinder of Norwegian immigration," a "Norwegian Daniel Boone," and other like designations, and of all the terms that have been applied to him, these two seem the most accurately to describe and characterize his work and nature. He was born in Tysvär parish on the *gaard* Hesthammer, the dis-

¹For more detailed treatment of this settlement in Shelby County, Missouri, see *post*, pp. 21-22.

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trict of Skjold, Stavanger *Amt*, in 1783. Of his early years we know little except that he seems to have traveled considerably on the continent and in England. In 1821, at the age of twenty-eight, Peerson emigrated to America together with a friend named Knud Olsen Eide, a step that has had various interpretations. Apparently, he emigrated partly to escape the clutches of a wealthy widow with whom he had become seriously involved in a domestic difficulty, but principally he went as the agent of a group of Quakers in and about Stavanger who wished to escape from the persecution of clergy and officials. The latter explanation gains credence from a newspaper report in an American newspaper at the time of the arrival in New York harbor of the sloop *Restaurationen*.² In this account it is stated that the Norwegian Quaker immigrants had sent two agents to America with funds to inquire about lands and possibilities for settlement. The companion is reported to have died,³ but Peerson continued his explorations, and "proceeded on foot to examine the country, the character of the different soils, our mode of agriculture, engaging without hesitation at any kind of employment to meet the current expenses of the day, by means of which he obtained a knowledge of our customs, laws, language, and agriculture." Exactly where he went is not known, but he must have visited western New York, Farmington in Ontario County, particularly, for he mentions having found friends there when he returned from his trip to Norway in 1824.⁴ After having spent three years in America, Peerson returned to Norway

²*New York American*, October 22, 1825, quoted from the *Baltimore American*, in Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840), Its Results and Causes*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1896, pp. 73-75.

³The name "Knud Olsen Eide" is also listed on the passenger list of the ship *Aegir* which came to New York with emigrants in 1837, but the report cited indicates that there must have been two persons of the same name. Anderson, *First Chapter*, pp. 60-62.

⁴Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860*, Northfield, Minnesota, 1931, p. 39. The letter was written by Peerson on December 20, 1824.

during the summer of 1824 and acquainted the Stavanger Quakers and others with the results of his explorations. His reports, coupled with the economic and religious discontent of the Stavanger Quakers and those who sympathized with them, led directly to the emigration in 1825 of a party of fifty-two, including both passengers and crew, in a small sloop with a cargo of iron that had been purchased, partly at Peerson's suggestion, with intentions of sale of both iron and vessel on arrival in New York.⁵ Cleng Peerson, however, returned to the United States in 1824 and in a letter dated New York state, December 20, 1824, he wrote to his "father, brother, sister, brother-in-law, and friends" concerning his voyage and his activities subsequent to his return.⁶ After spending five days in New York City, he went on to Albany and Troy, and thence via the Erie Canal to the "Salina Salt Works." He then went to Farmington, where he found friends. He reported that he had arranged for the purchase of six pieces of land from the "land commissioner" at Geneva, and that he was already projecting a house on his own property. "Well," he wrote, "many persons are buying land in this vicinity; there are many cultivated pieces of land here that we may work on share. It will soon be filled up around here and especially nearest the canal." He suggested that the Stavanger group secure a small vessel and a cargo of Swedish iron, stated that he had made inquiries as to the sale of a small vessel in New York, and said that he anticipated no trouble in disposing of the vessel. "Friends" at Macedon, New York, had promised to house his sister for a time if she came, and he gave the impression that if the group came there would be a ready welcome for them. At one point in the letter

⁵A child was born during the voyage, so that the total number of passengers aboard was fifty-three on arrival in New York.

⁶The controversy as to the genuineness of this letter is presented in Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, "Appendix," where the letter is reproduced and translated and its authenticity is proved.

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he expressed the great wish he felt that his friends would emigrate. "I am very much concerned in my mind about your coming to America. When I think of my sister and of other friends of mine, oh, how I wish that that time was over, and how glad I would be to receive word that you were coming to New York that I might greet you there."

The New York *Daily Advertiser* of October 15, 1825, carried on its front page an article entitled "A Novel Sight," which read as follows:⁷

A vessel has arrived at this port, with emigrants, from Norway. The vessel is very small, measuring as we understand only about 360 Norwegian lasts, or forty-five American tons, and brought forty-six passengers, male and female, all bound to Ontario county, where an agent, who came over some time since, purchased a tract of land. The appearance of such a party of strangers, coming from so distant a country, and in a vessel of a size apparently ill-calculated for a voyage across the Atlantic, could not but excite an unusual degree of interest. They have had a voyage of fourteen weeks; and are all in good health.

The vessel here reported was the *Restaurationen*, and its fifty-three passengers and crew, commonly called the "Sloopers," were the first considerable group of Norwegian immigrants to America. The party was met by Peerson and by the "land commissioner" to whom he had referred in his letter, a man named Joseph Fellows who was the land agent for the Pultney Estate, an extensive land holder in western New York state.⁸ After some difficulty about the *Restaurationen* by reason of its having carried

⁷At the head of the column is given the date "Wednesday, Oct. 12," and other writers have cited the newspaper as of October 12, 1825. The vessel arrived in New York Harbor on October 9th. The destination of the party was Orleans County, not Ontario County, the mistake being perhaps because of the location of the land office of the Pultney Estate in Geneva, Ontario County.

⁸Arad Thomas, *Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York*, Albion, New York, 1871, pp. 269 and 273.

more passengers than American regulations permitted for a vessel of such small tonnage, and after having disposed of the vessel and cargo at a loss for \$400, the majority of the passengers and crew, guided by Fellows, proceeded to Orleans County. Peerson was instrumental in securing the aid of New York Quakers for the new arrivals during the brief sojourn in the city. The leader of the party, Lars Larsen, the only avowed Quaker in the party, incidentally, although all were most likely of Quaker sympathies, did not remain in Orleans County but settled in Rochester where he followed his trade of carpenter, his home becoming in the nature of a depot in after years for Norwegian immigrants enroute to Illinois and beyond. The larger portion of the party, excepting Larsen and one other who settled in Rochester and the captain and mate of the sloop who remained in New York, purchased forty-acre pieces of land at five dollars per acre, payable in installments, in the northern part of Murray Township, Orleans County, later to become Kendall Township.⁹ The settlement came to be known commonly as the "Kendall settlement."

The first years in the new settlement were extremely difficult ones. The author of one of the early guidebooks about America, Ole Rynning, writing in 1837-38, stated: "The land was thickly overgrown with woods and difficult to clear. Consequently, during the first four or five years conditions were very hard for these people. They often suffered great need, and wished themselves back in Norway; but they saw no possibility of getting there without giving up the last mite of their property, and they could not return as beggars. Well-to-do neighbors assisted them, however, and by their own industry they at last got their land in such condition that they could earn a living from it, and

⁹Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, chapter 2. The Kendall settlement was located thirty-five miles northwest of the city of Rochester, between the Erie Canal and the Lake Ontario shore.

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live better than in their old native land.”¹⁰ Another contemporary states that the Kendall settlers “suffered exceedingly from sickness, especially in the beginning, and this set them back considerably in their external circumstances.”¹¹ The latter account also mentions a fire that broke out and destroyed supplies furnished by neighbors.

From 1825 to 1833, Cleng Peerson appears to have remained in the Kendall settlement, but in the latter year the characteristic feeling of restlessness seems to have possessed him, together with a feeling that the region in western New York was perhaps not the most desirable place for Norwegian settlement in America. The difficulties of the past eight years and the rapid filling up of the lands in western New York must have convinced him that the opportunities there were much too restricted. In any case, he set off on foot westward into Ohio, across southern Michigan, through northern Indiana, and on into Illinois. He was accompanied as far as Michigan by an immigrant of 1831, one of several individuals who came to America from Norway in the decade after 1825, named Ingebret Larson Narvig, but he went on alone to the then small town of Chicago, just struggling out of its embryonic stage. From this point he made several expeditions, including one to Milwaukee, but we have definite knowledge of one only, that to the Fox River valley in La Salle County, Illinois, about seventy miles southwest of Chicago. When Peerson was visiting in Norway in 1843 he met Knud Langeland, a prospective emigrant, and Langeland reproduced in a book written many years later Peerson's account of how he chanced to select the Fox River valley as the ideal place

¹⁰*Ole Rynning's True Account of America*, Christiania, 1838, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen, The Norwegian-American Historical Association *Travel and Description Series*, volume I, Minneapolis, 1926, pp. 73-74.

¹¹*Peter Testman's Account of His Experiences in North America*, Stavanger, 1839, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen, The Norwegian-American Historical Association *Travel and Description Series*, volume II, Northfield, Minnesota, 1927, p. 49.

of settlement for the Kendall settlers and for future Norwegian immigrants to America.¹² Langeland's account follows:

According to what he told me at the time that he was on his third visit to Norway and was stopping at Bergen, he was the first Norwegian emigrant to come west of the Great Lakes. He visited Chicago and several places in Illinois. . . . An interesting description that he gave has remained in my memory, that of an adventurous exploring trip out over the grassy, flowering Illinois prairies, of how he, on a hike from Chicago, first came upon the heights from which he could view the beautiful and charming countryside where the rich Norwegian settlement on the Fox River is now found but which was then without settlers except for occasional, far separated houses at the edge of the woods along the Fox River where a few Americans had begun to settle. Almost dead of hunger and exhaustion as a result of his long wanderings through the wilderness, he threw himself upon the grass and thanked God who had permitted him to see this wonderland of nature. Strengthened in soul, he forgot his hunger and sufferings. He thought of Moses when he looked out over the Promised Land from the heights of Nebo, the land that had been promised to his people.

Unlike Moses, however, Peerson was to accompany "his people" into the Promised Land.

Having satisfied himself that the Fox River valley offered the best opportunities for settlement to be found in the West, Peerson started eastward again, returning the entire way to the Kendall settlement on foot. Peerson's reports led to the decision by many of the Kendall settlers to migrate to Illinois, and six families left in the summer of 1834, to be followed by more in 1835. By 1837, there were only two or three families remaining in the Kendall settlement, and at least two of these seem to have remained

¹²Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, Chicago, 1888, pp. 18-19. Writer's translation.

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there.¹³ One of the Kendall settlers who migrated to Illinois in 1835, writing to friends in Norway on April 22, 1835, wrote: "Six families of the Norwegians who settled in this place sold their farms last summer and moved farther west in the country to a place which is called *Elle-naais*. We and another Norwegian family have also sold our farms and intend to journey, this May, to that state, where land can be bought at a better price, and where it is easier to get started. . . . The eight families still in this neighborhood desire to sell their land as soon as they can, and to move west."¹⁴

That the Kendall settlers should wish to migrate to Illinois does not seem surprising when one compares, as they undoubtedly did, the land prices and the future prospects in New York and Illinois. The government land in Illinois could be had at \$1.25 per acre and there was plenty of land for all, while in New York the price of land had risen greatly since the arrival of the "Sloopers" and there was little land to be had. A Kendall settler obtained an entire section of land in Illinois for the price secured for his small farm in New York state.¹⁵ Furthermore, the settlers had experienced the effect of the Erie Canal upon land values, and they were undoubtedly familiar with the fact that the Illinois and Michigan Canal, projected since 1827, was expected to join with the Illinois River somewhere in La Salle County, Illinois. A writer on the latter canal states: "The Illinois and Michigan Canal from Chicago to the Illinois River, was to connect with the latter somewhere in La Salle County. Settlers flocked in hoping to obtain lands on or near the proposed line. When the land sales

¹³Rynning's *True Account*, p. 78; on Lightfoot and Geil's *Map of Orleans County, 1852*, only two Norwegian names are given as land owners, namely "Oley Johnson" and "Oley Orsland," both members of the 1825 "Sloop" party.

¹⁴Quoted in Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, pp. 63-64. A translation of this letter was published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 2: 68-74, June, 1922.

¹⁵This was Nels Nelson Hersdal. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, p. 64.

were made in 1835, however, the speculators present took the lion's share. During the following year came the greatest immigration of the period. Ground was broken for the canal, July 4, 1836, and the beginning of active operations no doubt tended to increase the crowd of newcomers. . . . The arrival, at this time, of the first band of Scandinavians was an event of some importance in the settlement of this part of Illinois. . . . Soon there was to be a great throng of foreigners poured through the Chicago gateway upon the prairies."¹⁶ The Kendall settlers were also undoubtedly influenced by the migration of native American families from western New York to Illinois, for there were a considerable number of families from Ontario, Monroe, Dutchess, Cayuga, Onondaga and other New York counties who settled in La Salle County at about the same time that the Norwegians moved westward.¹⁷ The migration of the Norwegians to Illinois from the Kendall settlement in New York in 1834 was a direct result of the Peerson trip of exploration coupled with the fact that large numbers of others from the same region in western New York were moving to Illinois at the same time. The pioneering of new frontiers by the settlers of an older frontier was to become a typical phenomenon in the northwestward advance of Norwegian settlement after 1834.

III

The six families that migrated from the Kendall settlement in New York to La Salle County, Illinois, in 1834 included, in addition to Cleng Peerson, the following heads of families: Endre Dahl, Jacob Anderson Slogvig, Gudmund Haugaas, Nels Thompson, and Thorstein Olson

¹⁶William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1908, pp. 384-385.

¹⁷Elmer Baldwin, *History of La Salle County, Illinois*, Chicago, 1877, "Sketch of Settlers" in the histories of the respective townships.

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Bjaadland.¹⁸ Knud Anderson Slogvig, a brother of Jacob, and an immigrant of the year 1830—one of about ten who came individually from Norway to America in the decade following 1825—also seems to have migrated westward with his brother's family. The significance of his return visit to Norway in 1835 will be related presently. The exact route taken by the migrants is not recorded, but one may presume that Cleng Peerson guided them by the route he followed on his first trip westward. There is a like vagueness about the activities of the group from the time of arrival in Illinois until land could be purchased in June, 1835. Some of the men secured employment with "American" farmers who were also settling or had settled in La Salle County.¹⁹ The lands desired seem to have been selected in 1834 but no land sales for that region were to be held until 1835. It is recorded that Cleng Peerson claimed the first farm in the permanent settlement of Norwegians west of the Great Lakes. This farm he claimed on behalf of his sister, Kari Nelson, the widow of Cornelius Nelson, one of the "Sloopers" of 1825. The land claimed by Peerson was the eighty-acre tract located in the western half of the southwest quarter of section number thirty-three, township thirty-five (Mission Township), range five east, La Salle County.²⁰ There seems to have been no one who has dis-

¹⁸Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 174. There is some variation in the accounts of writers as to the number of families, H. R. Holand (*De Norske Settlementers Historie*, Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908, p. 86), listing nine family heads, and A. E. Strand (*A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, Chicago, 1905, p. 74), listing eight families. Anderson states that he found only those listed and his account agrees with the statement in Gjert G. Hovland's letter that six families had gone out to Illinois in 1834. Mr. Anderson's account is the most reliable of those cited, and is accepted also in Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, p. 62. The conflict may have arisen because of a question as to who were heads of families.

¹⁹Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 174. Mr. Anderson states that Mr. John S. Armstrong, who settled in Mission Township in 1834, informed him of having employed two Norwegians on his claim in the summer of that year.

²⁰Strand, *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, p. 50. This farm has remained in the Nelson family.

puted the priority of the land claimed by Peerson, and one cannot but feel that it was most appropriate. However, the first official purchases of land, on June 15th, 1835, were made by Jacob Anderson Slogvig and Gudmund Haugaas, these two men taking eighty and 160 acres respectively in Rutland Township. Two days later, land purchases by Cleng Peerson—both for himself and for his sister—by Gjert Hovland, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, and Nels Thompson are recorded.²¹ These lands were in the southwestern part of Mission Township, northwestern Miller Township, and northeastern Rutland Township. Thus there took root the first permanent Norwegian settlement in the American Middle West.

It will be recalled that on April 22, 1835, Gjert G. Hovland wrote to friends in Norway from the Kendall settlement announcing his intention to follow those who had moved westward in 1834, and he undoubtedly set out not long after that date, for he was on hand at the land sales in June to secure a quarter-section farm in Miller Township. In the same year, most of the other Kendall settlers migrated westward to Illinois. With the virtual abandonment of the Kendall settlement, the direction of Norwegian immigration and settlement was turned definitely to Illinois. Meanwhile, influences were operating that were to increase the Fox River settlement in 1836 and after and to make of it a large and prosperous Norwegian settlement.

One of the migrants of 1834 was, as has been mentioned, Knud Anderson Slogvig. In 1835 he returned to Norway for a visit, and his return caused a great stir in the districts of southwestern Norway. Although letters had been received from such emigrants as Gjert G. Hovland, describing conditions in America, the actual return of a man who

²¹Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 175. Mr. Anderson examined the land records at Ottawa. Miller Township was not organized until 1876, when it was formed from the eighteen southern sections of Mission Township and the eighteen northern townships of Manlius Township.

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could report at first hand about America naturally had a more immediate effect in stimulating interest in America and in arousing the "America-fever" that later was to send so many thousands to the New World. Here was a man who had actually crossed the Atlantic and had returned safely. No amount of warnings against emigration and predictions of dire consequences of such a step could compete with the testimony of this returned "America-traveler." To his home in the district of Skjold came visitors from all parts of southwestern Norway to ask questions about conditions in America, about opportunities there, and about the thousand and one matters concerning which a prospective emigrant felt in need of information.²² In addition to the actual presence of Slogvig in 1835, there were letters brought back by him with news from relatives and friends who had departed on the *Restaurationen*. The letters of Gjert G. Hovland had great influence and copies of these letters were circulated by the hundreds, some being published in newspapers. The letter previously mentioned, that of April 22, 1835, enjoyed a particularly wide circulation because of the information about America contained in it and the known integrity of the author.²³ The direct result of the visit of Slogvig and the influence of the "America-letters" was the departure in 1836 from Stavanger of two vessels with emigrants under the leadership of Slogvig himself. These two ships, the *Norden* and *Den Norske Klippe*, with 110 and fifty-seven passengers respectively, reached New York in July and August, 1836.²⁴ The main body of

²²Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, pp. 70-73; Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 148.

²³A good account of the contents of this letter is to be found in Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, pp. 65-70. See also *ante*, note 14. Two letters written by Hovland from the Fox River settlement in 1838 and 1842, are translated in the "Appendix" of this article. See *post*, pp. 26-32.

²⁴For an analysis of the passenger lists of these two vessels, together with the lists of two vessels that came in 1837, see Henry J. Cadbury, "Four Immigrant Shiploads of 1836 and 1837" in *Studies and Records*, The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota, volume II, pp. 20-37.

these emigrants seems to have gone westward via Rochester, New York—where some may have consulted with Lars Larson, the leader of the “Sloopers” of 1825—to Chicago. A few remained in Chicago to form the nucleus of the later large Norwegian element of that city, but most of the party proceeded to the Fox River region in La Salle County. With the coming of the 1836 group, the Fox River settlement was greatly expanded and a large, thriving settlement was insured, many of the new arrivals settling to the north-westward in Adams Township.²⁵

In 1837, two more shiploads of emigrants left Stavanger for America, not to mention the individuals such as Ole and Ansten Nattestad, who departed by way of Göteborg, Sweden, and other ports.²⁶ The passengers of one of these vessels, the *Enigheden*, settled largely in the Fox River region, but the group that emigrated on the *Aegir* did not go there directly, and therein lies the story of one of the most unfortunate of the Norwegian settlements in America. The *Aegir* party, on arrival in Chicago, heard unfavorable reports concerning the healthfulness of the Fox River valley, but it was learned, possibly from designing land speculators, that there was good land to be had on Beaver Creek in Iroquois County, Illinois. The leader of the party, Ole Rynning, together with three others, investigated this region and reported the lands satisfactory, there being no indication in the autumn of the year that the spring rains and thaw would turn the lands into disease-breeding swamps. Most of the members of the *Aegir* party proceeded to settle on the lands selected on Beaver Creek, but when spring came the true character of the region became apparent. Malarial fever began to take its toll amongst

²⁵Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, p. 79. Andrew Anderson, Ole T. Oleson, and Halvor Nelson seem to have been the earliest Norwegian settlers in Adams Township. Strand, *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, p. 77.

²⁶Cadbury, *op. cit.*

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the settlers and most of them fled westward to La Salle County by the end of 1838. One remained until 1840 when he removed to Wisconsin.²⁷ The principal importance of the Beaver Creek settlement in the history of Norwegian immigration lies in the fact that Ole Rynning, during the winter of 1837-1838, wrote his *True Account of America* there, the manuscript being taken back to Norway in 1838 by Ansten Nattestad for publication in Christiania in the same year. This book was perhaps the most influential of all the emigrant guide books published in Norway in the early years of Norwegian migration to America.²⁸ As indicated, the survivors of the Beaver Creek settlement settled in the Fox River region.

IV

Although the Fox River settlement, properly speaking, included only the townships of Mission, Rutland, Miller, Manlius, Adams, Earl, Freedom, and portions of adjacent townships of La Salle County, it came in time to include a much larger area in the counties of La Salle, Kendall, Grundy, Lee, and De Kalb—the first three in particular. As indicated, the immigrants of 1836 and 1837 settled not only on lands near the farms of the 1834 settlers, but also took land in Adams Township to the northwestward, the latter portion of the Fox River settlement expanding into Earl Township and centering in the village of Leland. A considerable number of the Norwegian settlers in this area were from the district of Voss in Norway.³⁰ Almost at the same time, settlers took land to the northwestward in

²⁷For a more complete account of the Beaver Creek colony, see Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, pp. 91-92, Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, pp. 29-31, and Anderson, *First Chapter*, pp. 245-247.

²⁸See *ante*, note 10.

³⁰*Wossingen*, Leland, Illinois, December, 1857. For a description of this unique newspaper see the "Appendix" of this article, *post*, pp. 40-41.

Kendall County, with a center at Lisbon, and this settlement, frequently called the "Lisbon settlement," included the townships of Big Grove, Fox, Kendall, and Lisbon, Kendall County.³¹ To the eastward in Grundy County, settlers took land first about 1845, in Nettle Creek Township and later in Saratoga Township.³² By 1850, the expanded Fox River settlement had come to include 221 families, with a total of 1,262 persons.³³ In the following decade, in spite of a considerable drain of population westward and the fact that immigration was now pouring through the Wisconsin settlements rather than by way of the Fox River settlement, the latter expanded and sent out off-shoots. To the northward in Lee County, settlement began in 1847, in the townships of Sublette and Willow Creek. More settlers came in 1851, and almost annually thereafter on into the sixties.³⁴ At the same time as the Lee County settlement began, settlers took land in De Kalb County, principally in Milan, Paw Paw, Shabbona, and Victor townships.³⁵ By 1870, the general Fox River settlement area, including townships in La Salle, Grundy, Kendall, Lee, and De Kalb counties, had reached approximately the bounds that mark the present area of Norwegian settlement in that region. Although markets were at first far distant for the pioneers, villages and ultimately cities grew up within the Norwegian settlement area, notably Ottawa, Morris, Newark, Lisbon, Leland, Sheriden, Marseilles, and several smaller places. Until more recent times, however, the Norwegian element actually residing in these cities and villages has been relatively small.

³¹An article in *Amerika*, Chicago, October 28, 1885, gives a good description of the "Lisbon settlement."

³²Strand, *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, pp. 83-84.

³³Manuscript census schedules, United States Census, 1850.

³⁴Strand, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-88.

³⁵*Ibid.*, and manuscript census schedules, United States Census, 1860 and 1870.

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V

While on a visit to the United States in 1843, the Norwegian journalist Johan R. Reiersen, later to found the first Norwegian settlement in Texas, stopped in the Fox River settlement. In an account of conditions in America as he found them, published in Christiania in 1844, he included the following comments on the Fox River settlement:³⁷

The Norwegian emigrants of 1837 settled, as Rynning states, in the northern part of Illinois, on the Fox River, and at Beaver Creek where Rynning lived. As a result of unhealthful conditions which caused several deaths at the latter place, the survivors moved to the Fox River settlement near Ottawa, La Salle county, Illinois, 4½ degrees north latitude. At this place lives—among others—Gjert Hovland, famous for his letters. This therefore became in reality the first Norwegian settlement of any importance, and numbers at present about 600 inhabitants, chiefly emigrants from the vicinity of Stavanger and Bergen. Most of these have passed the initial stage, have erected good houses, and live in a comfortable and independent position. Although agriculture constitutes the main support of the settlement, many persons carry on cattle raising as their most important means of subsistence, and keep large herds of cattle and droves of swine, which find food in abundance on the grassy prairies. For the marketing of products the place is well-chosen. They are disposed of in part at Ottawa, and in part at the important trading port of Chicago, on Lake Michigan, about seventy-five miles to the east. When the proposed canal—of which only one-fourth remains to be dug—is completed, the land will increase in importance and rise in value. This tract, therefore, was very soon settled by Norwegian immigrants and the suitable land

³⁷*Veiviser for norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas.* The excerpt here quoted is from chapter ten, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen as "Norwegians in the West in 1844: A Contemporary Account" in *Studies and Records*, The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Minneapolis, 1926, volume I, pp. 110-125.

was all taken up. The Norwegian emigrants who arrived in 1838 were accordingly forced to go farther north, where there was plenty of land to buy everywhere. The Norwegians in this settlement have schools in common with the neighboring Americans, but in 1842 they built a church, or chapel, of their own, where the well-known Elling Eielsen conducted devotional services for a time. The majority understand the English language, however, and usually attend the American churches in the vicinity, where their church rites and affairs are cared for.

This rather favorable reaction by a critical and observant visitor nine years after the founding of the Fox River settlement indicates that the Norwegian settlers had emerged from the stage of subsistence farming and were well on the way toward comfortable circumstances. Although there were some who found the climate too variable, with extreme heat and cold, and many felt that opportunities were greater in Wisconsin, Iowa, or Minnesota, the Fox River region proved Cleng Peerson's estimate of the rich agricultural potentialities there to be true. With the advent of good transportation facilities both by canal and railroad, there was every opportunity for the Norwegian settlers to reach an independent station in life.³⁸

One of the most interesting aspects of the early history of the Fox River settlement is the heterogeneity of the religious beliefs amongst the settlers. To a highly orthodox, state church Lutheran such as the Reverend J. W. C. Dietrichson who made a visit to the Fox River settlement in the spring of 1845, traveling overland from his parsonage in the Koshkonong settlement in Dane County, Wisconsin,

³⁸The Illinois and Michigan Canal was completed in 1848. The Fox River Branch of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad and the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad cross the Fox River settlement, while the Illinois Central to the westward and the Chicago and Alton to the southward are near the edges of the settlement. For both favorable and unfavorable reports on the Fox River region by early settlers, see the "Appendix" of this article, *post*, pp. 26-39.

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the situation seemed thoroughly reprehensible. The following excerpt from his letter recounting his experiences on this visit to the Illinois Norwegians, indicates his reactions:³⁹

Toward the end of April I returned home from a trip of three weeks amongst the Norwegian-Lutheran congregations on the boundary of Illinois and Wisconsin, and thereafter I set off on a trip to the oldest Norwegian settlement, that on the Fox River in Illinois, which I mentioned to you in my letter in January, but which I had not yet visited. I had no expectation of accomplishing anything in a religious way in a colony in which I had heard that the confusion was great, and I had not made any special effort to visit it earlier because I felt that even though there might be a few families that held fast to the old faith, the 130 mile distance would make it impossible for me to be of any service. . . . The situation here surely demonstrates what happens to the poor emigrant in religious matters, when no aid comes from the fatherland. The confusion here is terrible. Our dear countrymen, baptized and confirmed in the faith of our fathers, are here divided into seven or eight different sects. About eighty of them belong to the Mormon sect. Others are Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and followers of Elling Eielsen, etc. . . .

Taking into consideration the natural viewpoint of a representative of the Norwegian state church such as the Reverend Mr. Dietrichson, his account brings out a most interesting situation that obtained, not only in the Fox River settlement but in other Norwegian settlements before there became organized a strong Lutheran church amongst the Norwegians in America. By the middle forties a desire

³⁹*Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, July 21, 24, 1845. The letter is dated "The Norwegian Lutheran Congregation on Koshkonong Prairie, Dane County, Wisconsin Territory, May 10, 1845." A photostatic copy of this letter is among those collected in Norway by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen.

for a regularly ordained Lutheran clergy made itself felt and within another decade with a regular clergy the orthodox Lutheran faith regained its predominance amongst the Norwegians in America. During the first decade or two, however, the Norwegian settlers in Illinois were open to all influences and the report of the Reverend Mr. Dietrichson bears interesting witness to the effects of these influences. The religious situation in the Fox River settlement is partly to be explained in terms of the religious background of the settlers of 1834 and 1835, most of whom were in sympathy with the Quaker faith. The fact that a lay preacher such as Elling Eielsen should find a welcome in the settlement was natural, for he represented in America the strongly pietistic Haugean movement in Norway, with religious views closely akin to those held by the Friends. A large element amongst the immigrants of 1836 and after were Haugeans as well. The proximity of the Fox River settlement to the Mormon center at Nauvoo, Illinois, had its results as noted in the quotation above, one of the pioneers of 1834 becoming a bishop in the Church of the Latter Day Saints.⁴⁰ Johan R. Reiersen indicated in the last sentence of the account previously quoted a partial explanation of the turning of the Norwegians to the American churches. Having learned the English language, the settlers could worship in the churches of the "Americans," there being no ordained Norwegian clergy in America during the first years, and the lay preachers being deemed by many as unworthy. Amongst the Lutherans, those of the Haugean viewpoint seem to have been in the majority in the early years, under the leadership of the lay-preachers Elling Eielsen, O. O. Hetletvedt, and Jørgen Pedersen.⁴¹ Not until 1847, with the organization of "The First Free and Inde-

⁴⁰This was Gudmund Haugaas.

⁴¹Olaf M. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika, 1843-1916*, Minneapolis, 1918, I, p. 43.

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pendent Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in La Salle County" at Leland, did the more formal type of Lutheranism become organized in the Fox River settlement, and thereafter several congregations were organized, notably that formed in 1850 in the Lisbon settlement which the Reverend P. A. Rasmussen served so long and honorably.⁴² Whatever the sect might be that was favored by the pioneers of the Fox River settlement, it is to be noted that in this Norwegian settlement, as in almost every Norwegian settlement in America, the need for religious guidance and inspiration was a first concern of the Norwegian settler.

VI

The exhaustion of the desirable lands in the vicinity of the Fox River settlement, coupled with reports of good lands to be had farther westward and northward, led to the migration of families and individuals from the Fox River region farther out upon the frontier. With the rapid influx of settlers, this development was not long in materializing, and within three years of the establishment of the Fox River settlement the first off-shoot was begun. This was the short-lived Shelby County, Missouri, settlement, founded by a party from the Fox River settlement under the leadership of Cleng Pearson in 1837. It seems altogether fitting and proper that the earliest of the off-shoots should have been founded by the "pathfinder" of Norwegian immigration. In the spring of 1837, Cleng Pearson was engaged by a number of discontented families to seek out better lands farther westward. Pearson was selected, writes Sjur Jørgensen Haaeim, because he "knew the language and had

⁴²Reverend Rasmussen served the Lisbon Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation from 1854 to 1897. Norlie, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

much knowledge of conditions in the country.”⁴³ After Peerson’s return from his trip of exploration, a party of twelve or fourteen families set out by river boat and overland to found the first Norwegian settlement west of the Mississippi River in Shelby County, northeastern Missouri. Distance from markets, failure to secure title to desired lands when they came up for sale, together with the usual difficulties of pioneer existence combined to cause the colony to disintegrate within three years of its establishment. Haaeim returned to the Fox River settlement after the third year.⁴⁴ The colony was increased by a party arriving directly from Norway in 1838, and recruited in New York by Cleng Peerson.⁴⁵ In 1840, the settlers concluded to move northward into the newly organized Iowa Territory, taking land immediately across the Missouri River on Sugar Creek in what was then the Half-Breed Reservation but later became Des Moines Township, Lee County, a point about twelve miles northwest of the city of Keokuk.⁴⁶ Although this pioneer Iowa settlement continued and prospered, neither it nor the Shelby County settlement caused Norwegian settlers to come to that region in any considerable number. The direction of Norwegian settlement was to be farther northward and northwestward, and in the advance in these latter directions the Fox River settlement also served as a mother colony.

Within four years of the founding of the Fox River set-

⁴³Sjur Jørgensen Haaeim, *Oplysninger om Forholdene i Nordamerika*, Christiania, 1842, translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin in *Studies and Records*, The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota, 1928, volume III, pp. 1-12.

⁴⁴See Haaeim’s letter of April 22, 1839, to Bishop Jacob Neumann, in the “Appendix” of this article, *post*, pp. 32-37.

⁴⁵See the account by one of the members of this party, Peter Testman, *op. cit.*, note 11.

⁴⁶Manuscript Census Schedules, U. S. Census, Iowa Territory, 1840; Rudolph I. Gronlid, “The Beginnings of Norwegian Settlement in Iowa,” a Master’s thesis, University of Iowa, July 1929, p. 11. A copy is in the Koren Library, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

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tlement, Norwegians from this area pioneered new lands in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. It will be recalled that two brothers, Ole K. and Ansten Nattestad, who emigrated together by way of Göteborg to America in 1837, met and joined the *Aegir* party in Detroit and accompanied that party to the ill-fated Beaver Creek settlement. As mentioned previously, Ansten Nattestad returned to Norway in 1838, bearing with him the manuscript of Ole Rynning's book about America. His brother followed the rest of the Beaver Creek settlers westward to the Fox River settlement but he did not remain there long. Believing that better lands were to be had farther to the northwestward, he set off in that direction in early summer of 1838, and finally crossed the Wisconsin line into Rock County. He laid claim to a piece of land in Clinton Township on July 1, 1838, and proceeded to set up a temporary home and to create a farm. Although there were "American" settlers scattered round about him, no other Norwegians came with him and for a time he was the only Norwegian in the later densely populated Jefferson Prairie settlement. In September of 1839, however, Ansten Nattestad returned from Norway, leading a large party of emigrants, and, learning in Chicago that his brother had left the Fox River settlement and had taken land in Wisconsin, he led his party to Jefferson Prairie and thus brought into being one of the largest of the early settlements straddling the Illinois-Wisconsin state line, in southern Rock County, Wisconsin, and northern Boone County, Illinois. From the Jefferson Prairie settlement, settlers proceeded to found the even more extensive Rock Prairie settlement in southwestern Rock County and adjoining portions of Illinois.⁴⁷ To this large new area came many from the Fox River region as well as large numbers of recent immigrants directly from Norway.

⁴⁷Blegen, *Norwegian Migration*, pp. 114-125.

Another early Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin to which the Fox River colony contributed pioneers was the Muskego settlement in southeastern Waukesha County and northwestern Racine County, Wisconsin. In 1839, there emigrated from Drammen by way of Göteborg, two young men named Johannes Johansen and Sören Bache, the latter the son of a wealthy lumber dealer of Drammen, interested in promoting Norwegian settlement in the American West. These two came to the Fox River settlement the same year and made it a base for explorations to seek a desirable place to settle. They explored in southern Wisconsin in 1839, particularly the lands immediately north of the Jefferson Prairie settlement, but returned dissatisfied to spend the winter in the Fox River settlement. In 1840, they went to Chicago, and thence northward until they encountered the small group of Norwegian immigrants who had come in 1839 to the vicinity of Lake Muskego, in southeastern Waukesha County. Not liking the lands there, Bache proceeded a short distance southward and settled on Wind Lake in northwestern Racine County. The Muskego settlement was augmented by the arrival of a party under the leadership of Even Heg in 1840. Bache himself ultimately returned to Norway after having spent much money and energy in promoting the Muskego settlement.⁴⁸

One of the off-shoots of the Fox River settlement in Illinois itself, was the so-called "Pontiac" or "Rowe" settlement in Livingston County, south of La Salle County. The earliest settlers came from La Salle County in 1853, and took land in Amity Township. There followed a steady stream of settlers annually thereafter until well into the seventies, locating also in Esmen Township and centering in the village of Rowe.⁴⁹

Other instances of the function served by the Fox River

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 118, 125-126, 129.

⁴⁹Strand, *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, pp. 88-91.

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settlement as a mother-settlement and dispersion point could be cited, but those described will suffice. After a brief stop in the Fox River settlement, scores of families during the first decades of the advance of Norwegian settlement set out to seek land and fortune to the westward and northwestward. New generations in the Fox River settlement itself joined with the migrants. The January, 1858, issue of *Wossingen*, published in Leland, La Salle County, announced that "On the 28th of December, there departed from here for Kansas, Torsten Thormodsen Flettre and Niels Solfestsen Fanestol. We wish them the best of luck in their new home." The majority, however, set off for southern or western Wisconsin, northern Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and beyond. As settlement advanced, new regions became the first destinations of immigrants, but the Fox River settlement continued to furnish pioneers for the new frontiers to the westward. The significance of the Fox River settlement, particularly in the first decades of Norwegian settlement in the Middle West, lies as much in its function as a mother settlement, here described, as in almost any other aspect of its history.

APPENDIX A

SOME CONTEMPORARY "AMERICA-LETTERS" FROM THE FOX RIVER SETTLEMENT

1. Gjert G. Hovland to a Friend, July 6, 1838.⁵⁰

HONORED FRIEND!

I cannot put aside my duty that reminds me time and again of my old fatherland and of my friends living there, and I feel fairly certain of being received with respect, even

⁵⁰*Den Bergenske Merkur*, November 30, 1838. Writer's translation. This letter and the following three translated herewith are from the collection in the possession of Dr. Theodore C. Blegen. The "Middle Point" used as the post office address in this and the following letters is located two miles southwest of Norway, Mission Township, La Salle County.

though I may lack much as regards education from childhood onward. I feel confident also that you who have a greater store of knowledge than I will receive my communication in a friendly way, for I have come to know you as a true friend. I realize, of course, as surely as this letter will reach its destination, that Norway does not lack reports about America, and that there are many of various viewpoints. I expect that emigration will be considerable, and on this question there will be many points of view. Many who have come here feel that they have for the first time come to realize Norway's poor circumstances, and, looking backward they feel as though burdens had been cast from them and they are glad that they emigrated, especially for the sake of their children. On the other hand, there are those here who have been raised as their parents' darlings and have been promptly furnished with everything they have needed, and these find sorrow and privation, for they expected that a paradise would be found here that would furnish everything without sweat. Those who leave Norway with such expectations deceive themselves greatly. He who wishes to get along must work here as elsewhere in the world. But everything pays better here. This advantage seems to some to be highly disgusting, for it is believed that one is predestined to a certain fate in life. It appears to me, therefore, that those who contemplate coming to this country should pause to consider the problem seriously and not embark upon the journey carelessly or let earthly covetousness intoxicate them, especially those who are of a fluctuating character (lack firmness). The length of the journey makes necessary a considerable amount of money, so that those who plan to finance themselves without going into debt must plan to have seventy to eighty specie dollars for each person and a half that for each child. When they arrive here, they will find that there is no land to be had in Illinois but that they must go farther westward. This

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necessitates both money and a clear mind. The land with wood hereabouts is bought up and settled, but there are untold reaches of grasslands (savannahs) which are many miles in extent with the best grass imaginable for pasture for the cattle and for as much hay as one desires, without hindrance and with only slight bother. No reasonable man could wish himself a better place, although there are those who are dissatisfied with anything. This is especially true of those who are filled with morbid ambition and who long for the ceremony and compliments of the world, these things being not so highly prized here. I and others who have been used to labor since childhood think this is a land of Canaan [Kanaans-Land]. When I consider the fertile soil that produces so richly of all things without need of fertilizer, I feel that Norway cannot be compared with America any more than a desert can be likened to an orchard that is in full bloom.

I suggest that he [Bishop Jacob Neumann] come here before he takes the trouble of writing more books about this country, so that he may learn to write the real truth.⁵¹ I am certain that he is greatly mistaken in many things. He does not need to grieve about the school facilities and church organizations in this country. The ministers here travel hundreds of miles to bear witness to the Gospel, without pay, especially going to places where no church is to be found, so that there is just as good an opportunity for worship of God here as in Norway. . . .

I am glad that I came here, in spite of the fact that things have not always happened as I might have wished since I left New York, the Kendall settlement where I first settled. From the latter place to here is 1,500 miles, but by the route

⁵¹Bishop Jacob Neumann published in Bergen in 1837, a pamphlet opposing emigration entitled *A Word of Admonition to the Peasants in the Diocese of Bergen Who Desire to Emigrate. A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of the Diocese*. The pamphlet is translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin in *Studies and Records*, I, pp. 95-109.

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one must travel it is 2,000 miles. I have purchased 160 acres of land which is rectangular in shape and is two English miles in circumference. The country here is beautiful to look upon, but the long winter and piercing cold such as I have never in my life experienced, together with the equally strong heat cause me to advise that no person who has a good income in Norway to leave it. This applies especially to people who are growing old, for they would benefit little. They cannot learn the language and are incapable of hard work, so that everything would be unpleasant for them. But unattached and unemployed persons would find it advantageous. If I live long enough, I shall hope to visit you again sometime.

I wish you, in God, the very highest success in your work. Live well. I, God be praised, live well.

MEDEL POINT

July 6. 1838

GJERT HOVLAND

2. Gjert G. Hovland to Peder Johannesen Sätten,
July 9, 1842.⁵²

LA SALLE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

July 9, 1842

HONORED AND DEAR FRIEND:

Your letter of the year 1836 was received with great eagerness and was read with pleasure. I owe you the most sincere thanks for all that the letter contained. I have received no letter from Norway that surpasses yours in content, and for that reason I now take the liberty a second time to send you in the most friendly spirit this humble letter to which I hope you will give as before the best meaning, for our almost brotherly friendship and intercourse there at home causes me to desire to perpetuate the same relationship until we die.

⁵²*Christianssandsposten*, February, 23, 1843. Writer's translation.

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When I look back upon the time when you felt such a great desire to come over here, and then consider the lowly situation you describe as holding you back, I truly regret your fate, especially that of your children who certainly would have greater opportunities here than in Norway. Perhaps your fortune has changed in more recent times, unbeknownst to me, and I should be happy indeed to learn that such was the case. I have had a vague report that you are staying in Stavanger, but what your occupation is I do not know. I have frequently wished that you might have come over here when I came, for I am sure that you would now have been in good circumstances. Here no one needs to starve, for I am certain that the man who works hard at whatever may be offered, and has a good housekeeper, can live much better here on his daily wages, even though his household may be simple, yes, much better than in many places in Norway where they who live on *gaards* and have a festive table at each meal look down upon the simple fare that the low-born one must be contented with and at that not have enough for the necessities of life for himself and his family. Scarcely a day passes but that I think of God's rich blessings that are brought forth in this country and this particular place every year. Then my heart is moved to compassion when my thoughts fly back to Norway and I remember how I and many others were surrounded in the cities and the country districts by the poor who begged with tear-filled eyes for crumbs. How happy these poor and low-born persons would be if they could live over here, especially those with honesty of purpose and contentment of mind. But those who think that all things will stand ready to provide what they wish and need, without work, such make a mistake indeed and will soon lose their courage, as for example one from near Stavanger who made a trip over here a few years ago. In place of his false, pre-conceived notions he found the opposite. He was not raised

in that class that finds it necessary to bother with laborious things, and consequently, he turned back with his purpose unaccomplished and without any knowledge of conditions in this country. The only things that such people can report are experiences enroute, but in spite of that we see books and discourses, inspiring dread of America, that resemble more the work of children than of those who call themselves grown-up and have attended high-schools. There is a book in Norway entitled *Norges Dämring* [*The Twilight of Norway*]. I know no more fitting name for those books that are published about America, both in Bergen and Stavanger. Things seem dusky indeed, for truth is hidden and lies are brought forth in its place. We are taught to "speak the truth, each to his neighbor." It should be even more our duty to guide our neighbors to those things that would be profitable both for soul and body and to set the light before them in such a manner that it would shine upon all in the house, rather than to place the light under a bushel and entirely smother it.

I do not write with the purpose of advising anyone to come or not to come. Each individual must consult with God and himself. One person cannot foretell another person's fortune, but my conscience forces me to bear witness to the truth. The Almighty Judge will some day bring to the light what is hidden in darkness, and will reveal the truth. When I read Bishop Neumann's book and those of others discouraging emigration, I am astonished that Christ's name should be so taken in vain. I hope that the lies will be trodden under foot and that the truth may be revealed.

My friend! I should like to give you some advice, if you still contemplate emigration or may at some future time decide to come over here, given that your resources are sufficient to bring you across the ocean without causing you to go into debt. If you so decide, then seek employment so

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that you may make your way here. I expect that you may find it desirable to stop in a city called Chicago—63 miles from here—where there are a number of Norwegians who have become well established. You can always arrange to meet us there in the summer when the wheat is marketed. It is not my purpose in writing thus to cause you to follow my advice. Follow God's will and your own. He who has a secure income in Norway and is growing old should remain where he is. One should be content when one has food and clothes. But those who have no secure income and are young will find it to their advantage to visit this country. Neither I nor the majority of those who have come over here and know Norway as it really is, feel regret for having left it.

My greatest sorrow is for my son who died three years ago after three months' illness. I shall remember his departure until the end. The Lord gave, and the Lord took away. The Lord's name be praised. My desire is so to live my life as to spend eternity with God. Both I myself and all the Norwegians here, as far as I know, are in good health.

I am the owner of 160 acres of fine land, a wagon, three horses, and other live stock, as many as I need. Here one can raise as much live stock as one wishes. Here is as splendid a country as anyone could wish to dwell in, for all sorts of products can be sowed and planted that bring forth many fold without need of fertilizer.

Here one's ability and knowledge can be displayed to greater advantage and be used for the good of the country and for the well-being of the common man. Here everything is arranged in a better manner. I note in the "twilight books or romances" that our houses are described as shocking, but the houses are so constructed here that they can be occupied as soon as completed, and they can be improved as one's resources permit. In Norway, many build their

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houses in such a way that they cannot be occupied until every part is completed. Both I and most of my neighbors have now just as good houses as we had in Norway. If I am regarded by you and others in Norway as untruthful, then no one need read my letters; but I can guarantee that every word is the truth, now as heretofore.

The crops are flourishing splendidly, both fall and spring plantings, and the harvest will soon be at hand. If you were here, you would in a few weeks be able to secure all your winter's food.

Lack of time causes me to be brief, although I have much to write about, and so I must close my humble letter to you and your family, with affectionate and friendly greetings and with the hope in my breast that the good spirit of truth may find room in your hearts. This your far-distant friend wishes.

MEDDELPOINT

July 9, 1842

GJERT G. HOVLAND

To Peder Johannesen Sätten, Stavanger, previously school teacher at Kobberveg School.

3. Syver Jörgensen Haaeim to Bishop Jacob Neumann, April 22, 1839.⁵³

THE MOST REVEREND HR. BISHOP NEUMANN:

Inasmuch as there is offered such a good opportunity to send a letter to my dear land of birth (the bearer of this letter is Endre Aaragbøe from Stavanger, who is now

⁵³*Bergens Stiftstidende*, March 5, 1840. Writer's translation. This letter was published by Bishop Neumann in an article entitled "More About the Emigration from Norway to America." In 1842, Bishop Neumann brought out a pamphlet by Haaeim entitled *Information on Conditions in North America, especially concerning the Welfare of the Norwegian Emigrants, written by the Norwegian Farmer, Sjur Jörgensen Haaeim of Graven's Parish in Hardanger, who emigrated but returned to Norway*. This pamphlet is translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin in *Studies and Records*, III, pp. 1-12.

ready to return to Norway), I am taking the liberty of sending to Your Reverence a brief message. My reason for this is chiefly the fact that there came here last summer a man from Norway named Johannes Larsen Ulsager from Hardanger in the diocese of Bergen, and this man had with him a little book with the title: A Word of Admonition to the Peasants in the Diocese of Bergen Who Desire to Emigrate. A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of the Diocese.⁵⁴ I immediately asked permission to read this little book, and the man agreed at once. I sat down to read it and I read it aloud so that it could be heard throughout the house in which we sat, there being gathered a large part of the Norwegian people hereabout in hopes of hearing news from the fatherland. After I had read for a time, the women-folk commenced to burst into tears, but some of the men, those who were among the first to emigrate to America, began to scold me and asked me if I still felt like reading such things, whereupon my own cheeks became wet with tears and I answered them that if they wished to know the real truth, they should read this book. They, however, gave me only a bitter answer. I then told them that if the Almighty God would help me to gather sufficient funds to pay my passage back to Norway, I would be so happy that I would never even tell how many of those who came in the same party with me felt the same way. That will most likely never be accomplished, however, judging by the state of my fortunes as well as those of others who might wish to return but who cannot leave because of lack of means. I will now tell the truth in all respects, and I call upon God in heaven to witness that I do not say a word that is untrue.

The majority of us left Norway in the year 1836 and had no better information than a few letters by Gjert Gregoriusen Hovland who praised both the country and the other circumstances there in such a way that each of us imagined

⁵⁴See *ante*, "Appendix," note 51.

this country must be a Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, and believed that we would find our countrymen here in the best of circumstances. But alas, when we came to the place where their homes were supposed to be located, we saw only a few huts which, lacking a better comparison, resembled the cattle sheds in Bergen, and we could see both sky and earth through the walls. Thereafter we became aware of another spectacle—a group of half-naked children and their parents in torn rags. We were, however, glad to be taken in by them, chiefly by reason of the fact that we could converse with them in our own language. Here we had to start to build a few houses of the same kind, and thereafter every man had to set out to earn enough for food for himself and his family, those who had lived on *gaards* in Norway as well as those who had owned no farms. We labored here the first winter and earned some money. Thereafter, a group of us went farther inland to a state called Missouri. Twelve of us traveled 560 English miles and found in truth land that was not settled. Here we set to work, each of us on a piece of land, and built ourselves houses of the same humble kind as described before. We had with us one of the first Norwegian immigrants who spoke English well.⁵⁵ The land was surveyed and was to be sold, but we were informed that it would not come up for sale for six years. But after we had worked the land three years, the land came up at auction and not more than three of us could buy a small piece. All the others of us were forced to leave without receiving any compensation for our labor. Our land was purchased by strangers, and we had to set out with our families back to the state of Illinois. This happened last summer. A short time after our return, sickness spread among the Norwegians, so that it was a great misery to hear the rumors all about us. A large number were taken away by the Lord, and those who

⁵⁵Cleng Peerson.

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recovered are as yet not entirely in good health. I am bound to report that I was one of the number who experienced this hard fate. I fell ill on September first last fall, and I am still not able to earn a meal. I should like to relate some things about the Norwegians living here, based on personal experiences. Some of them left Norway by reason of hate of the ministers and other officials; others left because they hated their neighbors; still others left to escape debts; and when all these have come together in one neighborhood, one can easily imagine how things are in the American forests. There is no church here in hundreds of miles, and we live as though we were in the greatest heathendom that could be found in the world. There were a few unmarried men who had decided to return to Norway, but those who decided to go died last fall. If these persons had been fortunate enough to return, I believe that not as many would have emigrated to America as have left since. I could report a great deal about the Norwegian people here but I do not have the space. I therefore appeal to Your Reverence to instruct all my brethren in Christ never to think of coming over here. I guarantee that they would regret it, except those who are thoughtless in all things. I am now in poor circumstances and many others with me, chiefly because of the sickness. If I dared to be so bold as to appeal to the citizens of the city of Bergen to be so good as to afford me a little support from a friendly heart so that I could return to Norway with my wife and two children, nothing could make me more happy in this life. I can relate a little more, however. The land here is truly better than in Norway and the price is very cheap if one can secure that which Congress has made available, but all the cultivable land hereabouts is now settled. One must purchase land first from those who have already settled upon it. This is called a *Claim*. Subsequently one buys the land from the government when the auction is held. All this

may be accomplished I suppose. But when it comes to actually settling down, one soon discovers how "low" costs are in America. A horse costs \$100, a work wagon from \$80 to \$100, a pair of work oxen for use in plowing from \$80 to \$100, and a cow from \$25 to \$30. If a man leaves home on a trip to purchase foodstuffs, a meal costs three English shillings, which in Norwegian money is one *ort* [eleven-pence] and twelve shillings. For a night's lodging the cost is two English shillings or one *ort*. If one takes everything into consideration therefore, one will see that there is not much that can be saved from the daily wage, even though the latter seems large. I desire herewith, in the most affectionate and friendly manner, to thank you for your tender and loving warning. You are a true shepherd for your flock which becomes lost, and I assure every Norwegian that if I were to tell the whole truth, I would not be able to reveal it as well as this book has revealed it to me. My place of residence in Norway was the *gaard* Haaeim in Graven's district, Uldvigs parish in Hardanger, and I am personally well-known to the parish minister, Herr Rötting, if you should wish to obtain a certificate of good character for me from him. Aaragbøe, mentioned before, will return here. If it were possible there in Norway to send me some help, perhaps with Aaragbøe, I would receive it with the deepest joy and thankfulness.

SYVER JÖRGENSEN HAAEIM

MIDDLEPOINT OR FOX RIVER, LA SALLE

COUNTY, STATE OF ILLINOIS

April 22, 1839

I hope that you will pardon my poor handwriting.

THE FOX RIVER NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT

4. Halvor Knudson to Relatives, April 9, 1837.⁵⁶

MIDDLEPOINT, FOX RIVER IN THE STATE OF
ILLINOIS

April 9, 1837

MY DEAREST FATHER AND DEAR BROTHER AND

DEAR SISTER!

Your very welcome letter, dated May 14, 1836, was brought to me by Baar Bö, and I was happy to learn that you live well and are in good health—welcome news to us who are so far away. I had great hopes last year of seeing you amongst the considerable number of Norwegians who came here, but when that hope failed I wanted to let you know how I am getting along. My wife, my two sons, and I live well and in good health, thanks be to God, and that is the best one can desire in the whole world. My deepest desire and yearning is that you come over here at the first opportunity. I should like very much to have my old father come here, and if he would be satisfied with the same daily fare as we ourselves have in our household, he would be heartily welcome, and I assure him that I shall keep him as long as he lives. I should also like to have my brothers come over, especially the two unmarried ones. I feel that the opportunities for them are greater here than in Norway. Knud, who is married, will find it possible to finance himself across the ocean I hope. I hope that my sister Gunnild can come too, for the wages here for young women are so high that they earn just as much in one year here as in two years in Norway. A servant girl receives fifty specie dollars a year and a laborer gets a dollar a day or from \$150

⁵⁶*Den Bergenske Merkur*, November 25, 1837. Writer's translation. Halvor Knudsen was one of the individuals who emigrated to America in the decade following 1825, coming to the Kendall settlement in 1831, and joining with the migration to Illinois in 1835. He was a neighbor of Gjert G. Hovland. Anderson, *First Chapter*, pp. 178 and 389.

to \$200 a year. It also seems to me to be easier to set up a household here than in Norway. I must finally tell you that God and good fortune have made it possible for me to own 160 acres of land, and I have recently sowed four acres with wheat which I believe will produce a good harvest. As to live stock, I have also, God be thanked, so far been fortunate. I have five cows, two steers that are used for driving, three young cattle—ten in all. We also have four sheep but we expect an increase in these, and four swine. This is what I possess in live stock, but if good fortune attends us, we shall hope that our circumstances will be improved in the future, for the land here is such that one can raise as many cattle as desired and there is enough pasture for 100 head for each man. If it should happen that you have too little money to pay your passage and if you can arrange a loan, I shall try my best to help repay it until such time as you yourselves are so situated that you can repay me. The only advice I would offer is that you go via Götheborg and there await passage on an American freighter. These know the routes better and make the trip in shorter time. My wife requests that you copy this letter and send it to her mother so that she may learn that her daughter is well and likes it just as well in America as she did in Norway. I have calculated the total cost of passage and freight from Norway to Illinois, as of last year, and it came to \$56 per person. If you are so fortunate as to be able to come as far as the city of Chicago, Illinois, and inform me of your arrival, I shall be glad to bring you and your baggage to my home. I would also suggest that you take with you as much Norwegian silver money as you can, that is, of the kind that is good silver, both dollars, half-dollars, and *ort* pieces, as well as all other kinds including two-shilling pieces. If it is good silver, you can dispose of it here. After you have arrived here, I shall furnish you with both work and food as long as you care to stay with

THE FOX RIVER NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT

us. I can include nothing further this time before stopping this letter with affectionate and friendly greetings to dear father and sister and with hopes that God be with you on sea and land and that we may gather here with joy and satisfaction, and lastly with greetings to all known friends. First and last, however, you are greeted by your sincere brother.

HALVOR KNUDSEN

APPENDIX B WOSSINGEN⁵⁷

One of the most interesting and unique of the Norwegian newspapers published in America was begun in December, 1857, in the village of Leland, Adams Township, La Salle County, Illinois. A considerable number of emigrants from the district of Voss, Norway, settled in and about Leland, beginning in 1836 and 1837. In 1857, there came to Leland, a Vossing named Niels Torgerson Bakkethun, a printer by trade, and he it was who set up a printing establishment and began to publish a newspaper for the people of his district who had settled in America. No explanation has been found for the unique spelling of the title, *Wossingen*, the usual spelling being begun with the letter "V." The first issue, that for December, 1857, a single two-page sheet, eight by eleven inches, announced an annual subscription price of twenty-five cents, asked for news regarding the Voss people in America, proposed that this newspaper become a medium for the exchange of news between the Vossings in America and the people in Voss parish back in Norway, announced its support of the Voss Emigration Society organized in Chicago the preceding year, and included a brief description of the "Vossings in Leland and Vicinity." By March, 1858, the paper published monthly,

⁵⁷The only extant file of this newspaper is preserved in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

boasted a considerable circulation in America as well as a circulation of one hundred in Voss, Norway. The principal function of the paper was that of serving as a link between the home district in Norway and the emigrated Vossings, and there appeared from time to time exchanges of correspondence in the paper by persons in America, and in Voss, Norway, particularly between the editor and his parents in the old home community. Notices of deaths, marriages, immigrant arrivals, and other news items were published, together with humorous sketches and occasional poems, such as that appearing in the issue of June, 1859, entitled "Livet i Pineryen" ("Life in the Pineries"). With the eighth issue, the paper was enlarged to eleven by fifteen inches, and the price became fifty cents per year. At New Year's time, 1860, the printing establishment was moved to Milwaukee, where the last issue was published as of February, 1860.

The editor and publisher of *Wossingen*, Niels Torgerson Bakkethun, was born in Tykke district in Voss, Norway, and emigrated to the United States in 1853. He worked on the staff of *Emigranten* at Inmansville, Rock County, Wisconsin, from 1854 to 1857, working on *Kirketidende* there in the latter year also. In 1857, as stated, he came to Leland, La Salle County, Illinois, and began the publication of *Wossingen*, continuing until 1860, when after moving to Milwaukee, he returned to journeyman printing. In 1865, he went to Madison, Wisconsin, and served with the Union Army for a few months, again returning to his trade for the next four years. In 1869, he went back to Norway and in 1871, he started the publication of a newspaper entitled *Vossingen* in his home district. In 1873, he returned to the United States and secured employment as a printer in Chicago, where he died in 1883.⁵⁸

⁵⁸K. A. Rene, *Historie om udvandringen fra Voss og Vossingerne i Amerika, med beskrivelse og historie af Voss, karter og billeder*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1930, pp. 162-164.

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Although there were a number of Norwegian newspapers published in the Fox River settlement subsequently, especially at Ottawa, no newspaper antedates *Wossingen* in this region.

APPENDIX C

WHAT BECAME OF CLENG PEERSON

The last mention made of Cleng Peerson in the preceding narrative concerned his efforts in 1838 to attract settlers to the Shelby County settlement in Missouri, and his success in securing one party of immigrants and conducting them from New York to Missouri. Whether or not Peerson was again the advance agent for the Shelby County settlers in their move northward into Iowa Territory, is not established, but we now know definitely that Peerson actually resided in the so-called Sugar Creek settlement in Iowa in 1840. The name "Klank Pierson" is listed together with nine other Norwegians in the manuscript census schedules of the United States census for Lee County, Iowa Territory, 1840, as residing in township sixty-six north, range six west, a portion of Lee County then called the Half-Breed Reservation, later to become Des Moines Township. Sugar Creek flows through the northeastern part of this township.⁵⁹ In 1842, Peerson returned to Norway for a visit and spent the winter of 1842-1843 in and about Stavanger, reporting his experiences and encouraging emigration. It will be recalled that it was on this trip that he encountered Knud Langeland and related to the latter the story of how he came to select the Fox River region as a place for Norwegian settlement. In May, 1843, he again sailed for America on the ship *Juno* with a group of eighty emigrants, and it seems that Peerson acted as a guide for the party enroute to Illinois.⁶⁰ In 1847, Cleng Peerson was able to sell the eighty acres of land he

⁵⁹Manuscript census schedules, United States census, Iowa Territory, 1840.

⁶⁰Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 189.

had bought in Shelby County, Missouri, and he then joined Erik Janson's communistic society of Swedes, the so-called Bishop Hill Colony in Henry County, Illinois. Here he married a young Swedish woman but his marriage was not a happy one, and soon after his marriage he left both the colony and his new wife, "robbed of all he possessed, and sick in body and mind," as he is reported to have described himself.⁶¹ He now returned to the Fox River settlement and remained there until 1849, when sufficiently improved health permitted further moves.

When Johan R. Reiersen visited America in 1843, he interested Peerson in the possibilities of Norwegian settlement in Texas.⁶² In 1849, most likely at the suggestion of Johan Nordboe whom he knew previously and who had settled about five miles south of Dallas, he visited with Nordboe and in 1850, returned to the Fox River settlement. He reported his experiences in a letter to Knud Langeland, stating that he had explored the regions of the Eros, Brazos, and Trinity rivers, describing the land, soil, climate, crops, and opportunities for raising livestock, and regretting that so many Norwegians were settling in the northwestern states, for Texas would be a much more advantageous place. An interesting expression of Peerson's character is contained in the passage from his letter in which he writes: "But I cannot approve of the method of settlement practiced by the Norwegians in establishing themselves so closely together instead of spreading out more so as to have greater freedom in their sphere of action."⁶³

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²Martin Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika, deres Historie og Rekord*, Minneapolis, 1907, I, pp. 197-198.

⁶³This letter, dated Norway, La Salle County, Illinois, August 20, 1850, was published by Langeland in his newspaper *Democraten*, Racine, Wisconsin, September 7, 1850. Theodore C. Blegen, "Cleng Peerson. The Pathfinder of Norwegian Immigration" in *The North Star*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May-June, 1921, pp. 214-215. Practically the same article appeared as "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 303-331, March, 1921.

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In the autumn of 1850, Peerson, together with several Fox River settlers, set off for Texas, going by way of New Orleans, westward up the Red River to Shreveport, and thence overland to Dallas County, Texas.⁶⁴ One of the party described this migration and the later life of Cleng Peerson in a letter to Rasmus B. Anderson, dated December 16, 1894, and the part relating to Peerson deserves quotation.⁶⁵ "In 1850, my father, with his family, came to my uncle, Halvor Knudsen, in Illinois. My mother had died from cholera between Chicago and Ottawa. In Ottawa we found Cleng Peerson, just back from Texas, and on his advice, and on his promise to be our guide, we concluded to go to Texas. He stayed with us the three years we lived in Dallas county, and when we moved to Bosque county in 1854, he came with us, not as the leader then, but as a follower, being too old to undertake leadership any more. The last years of his life he had his home with O. Colwick (Kjølvig), but would of course, go around among the neighbors, where he was always welcome and felt at home."⁶⁶ He died December 16, 1865.⁶⁷ . . . He was buried in the Lutheran cemetery opposite the Norwegian church near Norse P. O. in Bosque county, . . ."

Cleng Peerson was without doubt the most colorful figure in the early history of Norwegian immigration to America. One writer has described him thus: "He was something of a Peer Gynt, but without Peer Gynt's selfishness and his eye for the main chance; the roving spirit dominated Peerson wholly; not until old age had laid its

⁶⁴Ulvestad, *op. cit.*, I, p. 200.

⁶⁵Anderson, *First Chapter*, pp. 190-191. The letter was written by O. Canuteson.

⁶⁶Peerson was presented with 320 acres of land in Bosque County, Texas, by an act of the Texas legislature of August 13, 1856. Blegen, "Cleng Peerson" in *The North Star*, *op. cit.*, p. 216, note 91. Peerson deeded all his property to O. Colwick, the latter agreeing to shelter and care for him the rest of his life.

⁶⁷He was nearly eighty-four years of age at the time of his death.

hand on him did he yield to the monotony of a settled life; but even then in the wilderness of Texas in the fifties.”⁶⁸ Another authority on Norwegian immigration writes: “Cleng Peerson was the pathfinder for the first group emigration from Norway to the United States. He was the leader of the vanguard of the great Norwegian migration to the American West. His incessant travels, his reports of conditions, and his personal influence affected the whole course and gave impetus to the progress of the whole movement in the first twenty-five years of its history. He may in truth be called the trail-blazer of the earlier Norwegian immigration.”⁶⁹ Although other “pathfinders” were to swing the direction of Norwegian settlement to the north-westward from the Fox River settlement, in place of toward Missouri or Texas, as Peerson desired, the significance of this great Norwegian pioneer in the first emigration to America from Norway in 1825, and of his leadership of the migration from New York to Illinois in 1833 and 1834, pointing Norwegian settlement into the great American Middle West and Northwest, will ever remain undimmed.

⁶⁸George T. Flom, *History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States to the Year 1848*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1909, pp. 125-126.

⁶⁹Blegen, “Cleng Peerson” in *The North Star*, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

THE SEVEN WONDERS OF EGYPT

The Seven Archaic Stone Walls on the Seven Hills

By

WILLIAM NELSON MOYERS

In the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, April, 1931, was printed "A Story of Southern Illinois" by this author; and at pages thirty to thirty-three may be found some description of four stone walls upon high bluffs or rock cliffs, popularly called "Stone Forts." Since that publication, three other "forts" have been discovered and visited. This makes a total of seven such rock walls on stony bluffs, which may be regarded as the "Seven Wonders of Egypt."

However, seven questions arise respecting these rock walls, the answers to which would be far more wonderful than the walls themselves. In order, these questions are: First, Who built these rock walls? Second, When were they built? Third, Why were they built? Fourth, How were they built? Fifth, Why have vandals torn them down? Sixth, Why have not local writers given them a little attention? Seventh, Why have archaeologists not told us about them?

The main purposes of this article are, to call the attention of high school boys to the Old Soldiers' Reservation, which lies between the Big Muddy and the Ohio, and south of a line passing east and west through Frankfort Heights; to put archaeologists on the track of the old stone walls on perpendicular bluffs within this reservation; and then to

suggest some possible or probable answers to the above questions.

GIANT CITY STONE FORT

Within the Giant City State Park, in Jackson County, near Makanda, there is, or was, a stone wall upon a semi-circular bluff which averages nearly seventy feet in height. The old wall was slightly curved, and was 285 feet long. The periphery of the portion of bluff enclosed is about 600 feet long. Beginning at the westwardly end of the wall, it is about 125 feet to a point at which there was apparently a gateway in the wall, at about the highest point of the wall.

Standing at the door, or gate, one can look up a long sloping ridge as far as the timber will allow. The ridge rises rather gradually until near its top; at about half the distance to the top are the remains of an old slope mine where the local people used to get coal. Just north of this slope mine is a steep rock-bottomed draw which affords good drainage for the mine, and for that side of the ridge on which it is located. Just at the mouth of this great draw, there was formerly a buffalo trail, which was later used as a wagon road to the slope mine. At present, this road is in very bad repair, although it could be made into a good driveway up to the very gate of the old fort itself, or to the slope mine. There is another great draw at the east end of the stone wall, down which a good foot-way might easily be made; and this draw drains the eastwardly slope of the great ridge at the southwestwardly end of which the old fort is located.

If this walled space was ever really occupied as a fort, the occupants had the disadvantage of carrying water up the seventy-foot bluff by one or the other of these draws or gulches. However, from the foregoing description, it may be seen why this particular bluff might have been selected for the site of a fort. The drainage is perfect; no water can

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reach the interior except just such as may fall there—and that will run off rapidly; and at the base of the bluff to the south, there is a small creek full of loose stones, known as Mansfield sandstone, of the size that one man might carry. If the stones that formed the old wall were carried up there by man, he could have had the choice of two ascents—either at the northwest angle, or on the east side.

According to tradition, the old wall was six feet thick by six feet high, of one-man stones, which were laid up without mortar unless clay, which, then, has long since washed out, leaving no trace of itself.

Some years ago, a woman dreamed that just thirty feet northeast of the gate of the wall, there was buried a quantity of gold. Some one dug a hole there, but found no gold. Later, a local doctor caught the inspiration, and threw down the entire wall, and dug several holes searching for that dream-gold; he found just what he deserved—nothing.

The geographical location of Giant City Stone Fort is Township 10 S., R. 1 W. of the third principal meridian—nearly exactly at the southeast corner of Jackson County.

OLD STONE FORT

In Section 4, Township 10 S., R. 5 E. of the third principal meridian, in Saline County, there was an old stone wall (now torn down) upon a vertical Mansfield sandstone bluff more than 100 feet high, which has long been known as Old Stone Fort, and from which the modern village of Stonefort received its name. This fort is exactly east of and twenty-eight miles from the fort in Jackson County. These two walled bluffs are the only ones of the seven that have been called stone forts.

While the walls of these two bluffs were similar in construction, the bluffs themselves differ markedly in topography. The 100-foot bluff in Saline County lies in a straight line (the only bluff of the seven that is straight) almost

due east and west, and the stone wall forms one half of a perfect ellipse. The major axis lies along the bluff and measures 450 feet, and the measurable half of the minor axis is 190 feet. Therefore the foci are seventy feet apart. To an engineer, it is some surprise that these primitive men knew anything about the ellipse, or that they had the knowledge or equipment for laying out one in thick woods which was 650 feet long. It would puzzle many a high school boy to lay out a similar ellipse on clean meadow. The ordinary peg-and-string method of laying out elliptical flower beds is quite simple, but to lay out an ellipse of the dimensions stated here and in thick woods, calls for quite another set of mental pictures—another method.

From the village of Stonefort, it is some four miles east by a mile south, along a road that has been graveled for half the distance, to the bottom of the ridge upon which old Stone Fort is located. There is a residence at the top of the ridge, with a rather steep but passable driveway up there; and one may follow a smooth driveway to the very entrance of the fort. The fort is scarcely three miles from Mitchellsville, on State Bond Route 34; and from Delwood, on the Eddyville-to-Mitchellsville road, not more than one and a half miles.

It is about 1000 feet from the residence at the top of the ridge to the west end of the rock wall. The ridge slopes eastwardly to this west end of the wall, and then breaks off sharply to the north; therefore, the area enclosed has perfect drainage. And so one can not escape the idea that the builders had an eye to drainage when they selected the site.

The entire enclosure—about two acres—is cleared, and is in cultivation. If this rock-wall enclosure was ever used as a fort, the greatest difficulty would have been to secure water. The nearest adequate supply of water is in Little Saline Creek at the bottom of the bluff; and to get down the bluff for water would be a long, roundabout way.

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It is stated upon reliable authority, that when the government surveyors were surveying the public lands, 1806-09, they ran over this old stone wall, and noted that it was six feet thick by six feet high, and that the area enclosed by it was overgrown with large timber, showing no signs of recent occupancy. And Captain Mark Whiteaker, who carried mail from Marion to Metropolis as early as the fifties, stated that these were about the dimensions when he first knew the fort, but that in later years the boys threw the wall down, and rolled many large stones off the bluff just to hear them strike below. Captain Whiteaker also stated that this was called the Stone Fort at that time.

THE POUNDS

Near the south line of Gallatin County, directly east of and about twenty miles distant from this last named fort, there is a rock-walled enclosure which for more than a century has been known as "The Pounds." This rocky uplift is marked "The Pounds" on the Equality Quadrangle of the Geological Survey, and shows an elevation of more than 600 feet above sea level. The line between Sections 35 and 36 of Township 10 S., R. 8 E. of the third principal meridian, passes across the highest portion of The Pounds.

This is a nearly circular stone bluff, the top of which comprises more than fifty acres of land, with fully forty acres in cultivation. There is a margin all around, from thirty to 100 feet wide, so rocky as to be not tillable. In this uncleared rim there are several old rock cairns, which apparently have all been explored long ago.

The Pounds is the largest, and in many respects the most remarkable of all the bluffs upon which rock walls have been found. There are no legends clinging to it, except that it has always been a favorite hunting ground. To reach it go to Karber's Ridge, Leamington, or Gibsonia, and there secure a guide, or a minute description of the route.

The Pounds is approached from the southeast by a ridge which is scarcely wide enough for a driveway. Except for that ridge which ties The Pounds to the adjacent high lands, it would be inaccessible to man or ruminant. Following this ridge to The Pounds, it is only a few hundred feet to right or to left to where the perpendicular bluff begins, and along that distance there was a rock wall made, which like all the others, has now been flattened down—probably by vandals or treasure hunters.

The wall of the bluff surrounding The Pounds is estimated to average 150 feet in height; and the earth fill above the top of that rock bluff is a full fifty feet higher. On the north slope of the earth over-burden, there is an ever-flowing spring, and just under the spring is an old buffalo wallow. This over-burden of earth is in the shape of a great silt cone, and therefore the enclosure has perfect drainage.

Near the bottom of the bluff, and at the northeast angle, there is a ledge of whetstone rock. That whetstone is of very excellent grit, and many wagon-loads of it have been hauled away for commercial use.

Farther around towards the west, there is a "Fat Man's Grief," that is, there is a narrow passage-way where a fat man would have difficulty in passing. Several of these forts have such narrow passes, all of which are known as "Fat Man's Grief." Usually these "Griefs" present a short route from bottom to top of these bluffs. In a few instances, there is no other way to ascend, except by a very long, tedious route.

Some twenty years ago, Dr. Silas Vinyard, formerly of Karber's Ridge, now of Karnak, helped to chase and kill the last deer seen upon the old Pounds. There were two fawns with her that were lost—probably falling off the bluff and lodging among the crags. Some two years ago, the cows of a local farmer were grazing upon The Pounds, when one

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of them, reaching for the tender grass along the very margin, lost her footing and fell to her death.

This rock-wall enclosure was first called The Pounds many years ago. Soon after the treaty of 1783 establishing the freedom of the United States, Col. Leonard White was sent here, with a few soldiers, to look after our interests in the "Ohio Saline" at Equality. Seeing this bluff, and being acquainted with pounds back east, Colonel White at once recognized it as a pound. Not many years later, Brigadier-General George Posey came to Shawneetown; he agreed with White that this enclosure was a pound, and pound it has been ever since.—Look in your Webster's Unabridged for "deer pounds;" or, if you have traveled in the New England states, just recall the many conspicuously-placed placards calling attention to the old pounds.

The Pounds and the Jackson County fort (Giant City Stone Fort) are fifty-six miles apart, and are the most remote from each other of any of these Seven Wonders. And it is interesting to note that these two bluffs and Old Stone Fort are within very short distances of the south lines of the row of Townships numbered 10 South of the Base Line.

DRAPER'S BLUFF

Draper's Bluff, as shown on the Carbondale Quadrangle of the Geological Survey, is just at the south end of a considerable uplift which ends a half-mile north of the south line of Township 11 S., Ranges 1 and 2 E. Along that bluff passes the Union-Johnson county line. The heavier portion of the stony bluff, with the greater part of the overburden of earth, lies along the Union County side, and nearly parallel to the line, until the very south point of the bluff is reached, when it turns abruptly east extending for more than 1,000 feet to a point at which the vertical wall of the bluff doubles back on itself for more than half the

distance, forming a narrow ridge, scarcely 400 feet wide. At the west end of that narrow ridge was built a loose stone wall just 400 feet long, which enclosed nearly ten acres of land, and fort or not, that enclosure was completely walled in by the bluff. The loose stone wall is said to have been more than six feet high, by as many feet thick. The bluff is marked 700 feet above sea level, while the Lick Creek valley which drains the lands to the south is marked 393 feet. Therefore, this bluff may be written as 300 feet high. The entire tillable portion of the over-burden has been cleared and is in cultivation now.

There is a fence along the county line on the bluff, and just fifty feet east of the fence is an old buffalo wallow. At the top of the bluff, near one edge, there is a great boulder which is some ten to twelve feet higher than the bluff, and seventy steps around. On the very topmost pinnacle of that boulder there is a depression some seven or eight inches deep, and one foot across, which is reported to hold water at all times, and which is called the Bird's Bath. However, in July, 1931, it was so dry that I painted the interior with shoe polish, and got an excellent photograph of the Bath. It is an interesting phenomenon.

A few years ago, a little girl ventured too far out on the bluff, and fell from the top to her death.

Just northwest of the bluff is Jim's Hill, and farther out is the Chimney Rock. These are local names for interesting landmarks.

To reach Draper's Bluff, go from Anna or Cobden to Lick Creek, and thence two miles east. To get to the top of the bluff, either drive around north several miles, or climb up the Fat Man's Grief. This is rather steep, and the footing is bad, but it is amply wide, and many people climb up that way. In days long past, the local people climbed up there on Easter mornings for their services.

From this bluff, it is but a short distance to Elvira, the

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ancient county seat of Johnson County. Many will be interested to learn that less than a century ago, Elvira, Moscow and Valley Forge (Villa Ridge) were the best known points in all southern Illinois.

The entire margin of the bluff is set with service-berry bushes, which are too far down the bluff to be reached by man, and too high up to be reached from below, therefore the birds get the berries. There are great beds of prickly cactus along the edge, in front of the service-berries.

Geologically, Draper's Bluff is made up of stratified sandstone, the different strata being very easily seen. Some are several inches thick, with a good admixture of pebbles, or gravel; while others are not more than a quarter-inch in thickness, all fine sand. The specific gravity is 2.40 or above. All the rocks are unusually hard.

CORNISH BLUFF

In Township 12 S., R. 4 E., and in Section 4 or 5, Johnson County, there is an old stone wall which is similar to all the others, differing in shape only. This is on what is known locally as the Workman farm—formerly the Toler farm. It is within a very few miles of Reynoldsburg, and upon what is said to have been the old Shawneetown-Vienna road. The bluff is semi-circular facing southwardly. Beginning at the west side of the bluff, the wall trends eastwardly for about thirty rods, and then turns an angle of forty-five degrees towards the southeast for another thirty rods. All the land on top of the bluff has been in cultivation for many years, and a large portion of the old wall has been piled in heaps to clear for cultivation.

At the northwest angle of the bluff, just south of the road mentioned, there is a cave called Cornish Cave, in which are some rather small, imperfect stalactites. Several years ago, three or four boys ventured to explore this cave, and

crawled upward and back into the bluff until they came out to the surface within the area enclosed by the stone wall. At least two of those boys are living today, and say they have no desire to repeat that experience.

Two lines, one from Sanborn to Simpson, and the other from Vienna to Ozark, would intersect at or near this stone wall. Cornish Bluff is not well known, and has not been called either fort or pound.

This area drains southwardly through Cedar Creek, which passes just along the rock ledge upon which the picture of the buffalo is painted.

The panoramas from the top of this bluff and of Draper's Bluff in Union and Johnson counties are magnificent.

WATER LANE POUND

The Indian Kitchen, or Water Lane Pound, is in Section 34, Township 11 S., R. 6 E., Pope County, and is the smallest and least known of the seven stone forts. It is on the right bank of Lusk Creek, and on the Bill Gilbert farm. The Gilbert farm residence is, or was, rather excellent, considering its backwoods location. It is now rented, badly run down, and the roads leading to it are in very bad repair; while the drive leading up to the dooryard from the public road is almost impassable. From the dooryard, it is a full half-mile across rough fields to the pound. Lusk Creek runs in a "U" shape between two vertical sandstone bluffs which are parallel to each other. The bluff on the left bank, or convex side, is a full 150 feet high, nearly vertical, and winds entirely around the area enclosed by the rock wall. On the right bank, or concave side, the bluff is of equal height, except that just at the return point of the "U," the bluff has been scoured away by the erosion of the precipitous creek. This makes it practicable for man or beast to walk down entirely to the edge of the creek, which, at

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low water, is not more than sixteen feet wide, nor at high water above forty feet in width. Undoubtedly, it required many centuries for this little creek to wear away these rocks to make the "water lane."

This walled bluff has little to suggest that it was built for a fort. The rock wall is about 150 feet long, and encloses about two and a half acres. A small section of the wall is intact—just as it was built. This is the only one of the seven forts of which this is true; and that small portion has been spared probably only because of the inaccessibility of the fort. It is a pity that that small portion of wall cannot be preserved, or even photographed.

On the south side of the internal bluff, there is a sort of causeway which leads for 100 feet or so parallel to the bluff, and ends at a grotto which is called the Indian Kitchen. To reach the Kitchen, one must walk along the causeway, which is but three feet wide, with a vertical wall of rock above him on the one side fully fifty feet high, and a similar wall below him on the other side fully seventy feet deep. Thus, it will be seen that the trip to the grotto is a rather precarious one. One would hardly care to repeat the trip.

A local legend says that in the days of piracy along the Ohio, some bandits brought to this bluff great treasure—money, etc.—for the purpose of hiding it, but being suspicious of one another, fell to fighting, and that when the fight was over, there was but one bandit living. There was a Shawnee maiden, and a ten-year-old boy was left to keep him company. Loading the treasure on a pole, the bandit took one end, and the boy and maiden the other, and carried it to a cave to hide it. By a misstep, the bandit fell from a bluff and was killed. The Shawnee maid returned to her tribe; and the boy grew to manhood, but could never locate the hidden treasure. Such legends are numerous, and nearly every locality has its hidden treasure. There are also Lover's Leaps in many localities.

THE WAR BLUFF

On the Brownfield Quadrangle, at Section 24, Township 12 S., R. 6 E., Pope County, is shown the War Bluff. This is at the eastwardly end of an extensive up-build, or plateau, on which is situated the little hamlet of Raum. The last half-mile or so of that plateau slopes gently toward the east end, where it forms an abrupt vertical scarp. The scarp is semi-circular and encloses some two or three acres. Near the eastern extremity of the bluff, there is an ancient fault now healed over and bearing vegetation, which is some fifteen feet lower at the bottom than at its adjacent sides. Such faults are sometimes called "low gaps," and are of more interest to geologists or to engineers than to the ordinary observer.

Just at the west bank or slope of this ancient fault, there are the remains of a rock wall, which was around 300 feet long, and was evidently artificial. Its location is easily seen, and some portions still remain, especially at the two extremities; and foundation stones are to be seen all along the length of the wall.

From the bottom of the fault eastwardly, there is a rather steep slope some forty to fifty feet long reaching the general elevation of the scarp. Half way up the steep slope there is another loose stone wall, which might have formed very good breastworks for an improvised fort, the eastwardly wall of which is a natural formation of the ancient jagged rocks that faulted. The breastworks or wall extends nearly the whole distance from the fort to the old wall; and quite evidently it was constructed of the very stones which were used to build the old loose stone wall some three or four rods west, on the opposite side of the "low gap." The new wall is perhaps fifty feet long, running north and south. The natural wall on the east is semi-circular in shape, therefore the interior portion of the fort is a sort

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of amphitheater. Inside measurements indicate that some seventy to 100 men might have found shelter there from an attacking enemy. It is evident that the fort is of relatively recent construction.

This War Bluff has more appearance of having been used as a fortification than any other of the Seven Wonders. The very name, War Bluff, is suggestive of things military, and that name is as old as our information reaches. In addition to the name, there is an old legend still told by the inhabitants of the region, designating it as the "Last Stand of the Kickapoo." Some who do not remember the name of the tribe simply say, "Last Stand of the Indians." There are two versions of the tale, placing the supposed events full three score years apart.

One version is that the Shawnee, who, after having been driven out of Tennessee in 1735, had established themselves at the mouth of the Wabash, in Illinois, at once became hostile to the "salt-boiling" Indians at Equality. Now, nearly at that same date, the French of Vincennes and Francefort (later Frankfort) undertook to control the salt-making at Egalité (Equality), and got into difficulties with the natives. Those natives were the remnants of the Kitchigami, Mascoutah, and Kickapoo—probably not more than a few hundred all told—and those remnants had fraternized. The legend has it that the Shawnee sided with the French, and drove these native Indians to the fort on the War Bluff, surrounded them, and starved them out. But this story lacks confirmation, and the few facts that we have rather tend to discredit it.

The other version is that during the War of 1812 Captain Whiteside corralled a band of Kickapoo at the War Bluff and attacked them, but that when night came on, they escaped down the Fat Man's Grief. Many well known facts lend color to the probability of this story.

There were several companies of Rangers in southern

Illinois, any one of which might have had a skirmish with the Indians; but no one seems to have recorded such exploit.

Another interesting story has it that at or near the north-eastwardly side of the scarp is a cave, in which the late Thomas H. Sheridan was born, or in which he lived when he was a child. Sheridan was once County Superintendent of Schools for Pope County, and was later State Senator.

The two nearest bench marks shown near the bluff are 441 and 771 respectively, indicating a general elevation of 330 feet above drainage outlets. It drains toward the Grand Pierre.

The bluff is of Mansfield sandstone, and in common with all the other forts, it abounds with service-berries, rock moss and buffalo lichens (crustaceous). Near the margin of the bluff, where the rocks have been cleared of all earth by erosion, lichens form complete carpets. Our grandmothers made their dyes (orchil) from these lichens.

THE QUESTIONS

As to the seven questions proposed at the beginning of this article, no effort will be made to solve them, but a few commonplace suggestions will be offered that might help to their answers.

Beginning with the last question and proceeding backwards, it may be said that archaeologists have neglected these old forts for the reason that they have not known of their existence. These forts are archaic, and are therefore proper study of archaeology.

The natives who have known of the forts for all these years either have regarded them as of no importance, or else have been unable or unwilling to write about them.

Vandals have despoiled them undoubtedly in quest of hidden treasure—for, as has been said, each fort has its "hidden treasure" myth lingering around. In fact, local

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people generally know more about these myths than about the forts themselves, and offer that information first. It would require a long chapter to record all these myths and legends.

It may be ventured without a blush that the forts were built by hand, that is, by man-power alone. There is no indication at all that mechanical power was ever used in any portion of their construction. The stones of "one-man" size used in the construction of the walls were brought from the creek at the base of each scarp. At several of these forts, there is still the original creek, in its ancient bed. At others, the old bed is completely filled up, and the creek is several hundred rods away in a new bed. In the original beds, there are great numbers of just such stones as were used for the walls. To transport those stones required a climb of 100 to 300 feet, and a journey of a half-mile or more. Accepting the oft-repeated statement that these walls were six feet thick by six feet high originally, and laid up loosely with stones whose specific gravity equaled 2.41, it is easy to estimate the tremendous energy required to build any one of them. Leaving that calculation for the reader, it may be asserted without doubt that it required more energy to build the wall at Old Stone Fort than it did to build the largest of the Kincaid mounds—the largest in southern Illinois.

Why these walls were built, is the most mooted question of the seven, among those persons who have given that question attention. Some of the walled bluffs have long been known as forts, while others have as long been known as pounds. The idea that they were built for big game traps, or pounds, meets with little favor; while the notion that they were built as forts lacks nearly every element of proof. The scientist who answers this question correctly, or even satisfactorily, will have contributed more to science than he who unravels the riddle of the mound builders.

The Kincaid mounds are the third largest mounds in the United States; and they are at the lowest elevation of any in Illinois. There are many forceful reasons for believing that these mounds were built not earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century, probably much later.

The question of when the stone walls were built is closely related to the question of why they were built. It may be stated with a fair degree of certainty that they were built later than the very latest of the southern Illinois mounds; for the presence of these walls indicates a higher degree of civilization, as the Indian by that time was living on big game, while in the mound-building stage he was living on fishes. Then, too, the Indian population must have increased greatly before it was possible to build these walls, as that task undoubtedly required a small army of men and tremendous energy. Many other reasons might be offered as proof that these walls were constructed subsequent to the mounds, but the space of this short article does not permit of their enumeration.

Evidence tends to show that the walls were built by Indians, probably by the Cherokee tribe of the Muskogee family. The best evidence of their Muskogee origin is the arrowheads that have been picked up in their very near vicinity. These arrowheads are made of southern gray flint, and are in the shape of the elm leaf with serrated edges. This is the well known Muskogee type of arrowhead.

Paragraphers have told us of similar stone walls on hills in Indiana and in Kentucky; the historian tells us of a great fort in Coffee County, Tennessee, containing fifty-two acres—which is almost as large as The Pounds in Gallatin County, Illinois; and in Lawrence County, Missouri, four miles south of Mount Vernon, is a famous old rock wall on a bluff that was called an old Spanish fort until very recently, when Doctor Shepard, an archaeologist of Springfield, Missouri, after studying the structure for more than

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forty years, decided that it was just another Indian fort. Consequently, it has been re-named Fort Ancient, and a big celebration was held there, for the unveiling of a large granite marker.

The probabilities are, that all of these old rock walls on great scarps were erected there by the Indians as buffalo traps in order more easily to secure their daily food supply.

If records are to be depended upon as evidence that these were buffalo pounds, then read any good history of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and find that when those explorers were far up the Missouri River, they came to a tributary that entered the Missouri just at a great stone bluff, at the foot of which there was a wide beach literally covered with bones. Upon inquiry, the explorers learned from the Bird Woman that the Blackfoot Indians lived up there and were in the habit of running buffaloes over that bluff, using the buffaloes for food. They named that tributary Slaughter River. A recent writer relates that on one occasion the Comanches entered the Indian Territory and stampeded a very great drove of buffaloes, and ran them over a canyon; so many fell into the canyon that those in the rear could pass over, and the Indians ride over, the tops of the fallen buffaloes. This is recorded as being the greatest known single slaughter of buffaloes in America.

While some of these pounds are difficult to approach, they are not inaccessible; at one of the bluffs one man crawled part of the way, while at another, ropes were employed as means of reaching the top. It is earnestly to be hoped that a really worth while effort will be made to study these seven structures and give them the prominence they deserve.

THE POVERTY OF THE ILLINOIS FRENCH

By

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

I

Contemporary travelers made frequent remark upon the poverty of the Illinois French in the late eighteenth century, and commentators since that time have repeated their statements. That the ancient inhabitants of the country were many of them very poor is indisputable in the face, not merely of travelers' tales, but also of petitions and other documents gathered by Alvord into the *Cahokia Records* and the *Kaskaskia Records*.¹ But, though much of this is authentic, some of the descriptions seem to dally with the truth; of this tendency the acme is reached (and overreached) by André Michaux in 1795. No stranger statement of purported fact ever was accepted as genuine with as little scrutiny as his met. At this time, he assures us, nothing is to be seen [at Kaskaskia] but houses in ruins and abandoned because the French of the Illinois country, having always been brought up in and accustomed to the Fur trade with savages, have become the laziest and most ignorant of all men. They live and *the majority of them are clothed in the manner of savages. They wear no breeches but pass between their thighs a piece of cloth about one third of an ell which is kept in place before and behind above the hips by a belt.*²

¹*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, V.

²*Journal of Travels into Kentucky, July 15, 1793-April 11, 1796*, in Thwaites, R. G. (editor) *Early Western Travel* (32 vols., Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark, 1904), III:70; the italics are mine.

Such a picture can only give a false impression of existing conditions, and of the causes that lay back of those conditions. There are here a number of implications worth examination, but I shall limit myself to the question of poverty. Were the people so destitute and so primitive? Why were they poor?

Obviously I cannot here pretend to treat thoroughly a subject upon which a pleasant and an instructive book may yet be written. But I can present evidence which will indicate that conditions of life, *at least before 1766*, were not so desperate as we are led to believe. The statement, familiar to all students of the Mississippi Valley, that in 1746 the farmers of the Illinois shipped to New Orleans 800,000 weight of flour will not convince us that the people of this region were either shiftless or destitute. In 1763 the Jesuit properties at Kaskaskia were put up for sale; the terms provided that the buyer must pay cash and must pay the costs of the sale. The larger bids include those of Rocheblave (25,000 livres), LaClède (39,000), and Beauvais (40,000).³ This M. Beauvais, Pittman tells us, had eighty slaves, and was the richest of the English subjects of that country.⁴ The inhabitants of Prairie du Rocher "are very industrious, and raise a great deal of corn and every kind of stock."⁵ The Captain of Militia at Saint Philippe had, at the time of Pittman's visit, "twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and plank."⁶ And if the inhabitants of Cahokia, in their dependence on hunting and trade, do "scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption," they yet "have a great deal of poultry and

³C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period, 1763-1765, Illinois Historical Collections*, X:131.

⁴Captain Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi, Etc.*, edited by F. H. Hodder (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), p. 85.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 91.

good stocks of horned cattle.”⁷ The Mission of St. Sulpice, he tells us, had a fine plantation which in 1764 it had sold to a Frenchman who was remaining in the Illinois; and it sold also “thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle to different people in the country” at that time.⁸ In Sainte Genève, across the river but existing under similar conditions, the commandant is M. Vallé, “the richest inhabitant of the country of the Illinois; he raises great quantities of corn and provisions of every kind; he has one hundred negroes, besides hired white people, constantly employed.”⁹ This village also supplies Saint Louis with flour and other provisions.¹⁰ Whatever else he may say of the French inhabitants, Pittman does not comment on their poverty.

At the same time Captain Harry Gordon is in the Illinois Country. Kaskaskia, he finds, “consists of 80 Houses, well built, mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of Cattle & Hogs.”¹¹ Gordon, Pittman, and Hutchins proceed together to Cahokia (28 August 1766). “In the Route we pass le Petit Village, 5 miles from the Fort, a Place formerly inhabited by 12 Families. . . . The abandoned Houses are most of them well built and left in good Order. The grounds are favourable near the Village for Grain, particularly Wheat; and extensive cleared Land, sufficient for the Labour of 100 Men to cultivate.”¹² They come presently to the more important village of Cahokia: “Here are 43 Families of French, who live well, and so might three Times that Number. . . .”¹³

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹¹“Extract from the Journal of Captain Harry Gordon,” *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, IV:438.

¹²*Ibid.*, IV:440.

¹³*Ibid.*, IV:440-441.

Hutchins confirms the observations of the other two: Kaskaskia "contains 80 houses, many of them well built; several of stone, with gardens and large lotts adjoining. It consists of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large stocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c." Cahokia has "50 houses, many of them well built, and 300 hundred inhabitants, possessing 80 negroes, and large stocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c."¹⁴ These three Britishers have not the least reason to flatter the French nor to please them, nor will they gain anything by sending favourable reports upon the new territory to their superiors. Yet they tell us that the country was prosperous when they first saw it.

No, a country in which thrive for years such families as Pagé, Lagrange, Chauvin *dit* Charleville, St. Gemme Beauvais, Lachance, Janis, Saucier, Trottier, Boucher de Monbrun, Cerré, and which attracts such men as Charles Gratiot and Pierre Menard is not as primitive nor as destitute as some have implied.

II

It is customary to explain the destitution which came to the French of the American Bottom by reference to the continuous emigration to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. It is true that many of them preferred the Spanish to the British or American side, but many remained literally until they were forced by circumstances to leave the villages in which they and their families had resided for years. The implication that the best blood emigrated and left only the nondescript French of the poorest class is not borne out by the evidence all through such volumes as

¹⁴Thomas Hutchins: *A Topographical Description of Virginia*, etc.,—reprinted from the original edition of 1778—edited by Frederick C. Hicks, (Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, 1904), pp. 106-112.

Alvord's *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records* and the several volumes of the *Clark Papers*.¹⁵ It is true that St. Clair (for one of many) says Saint Louis "has been greatly advanced by the people who abandoned the American side." But one must note well that he adds, "To that they were induced, partly by the oppression they suffered, and partly by fear of losing their slaves."¹⁶ His statement is confirmed by that of Moses Austin a few years later: Cahokia "has been a place of wealth and did When under the English Government Command an Extensive Indian Trade. It is not the case now. Since the Americans have held the country it has been shamefully neglected."¹⁷ The simple truth is that the French were destitute not through any fault of their own but through the fault of the Americans.¹⁸

Perhaps the French may be prejudiced in favor of themselves? their petitions may be colored by their dislike of the

¹⁵Three volumes of the papers of George Rogers Clark have been included in the *Illinois Historical Collections*. In addition to the evidence all through these and other volumes in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, I shall take time to cite one completely disinterested witness. The German traveler, Johann David Schoepf, saw at Richmond two French commissioners from the Illinois who had come to present claims against Virginia for supplies, etc., in the Western campaign. "From the dress and behavior of these gentlemen, as well as from other information, good-living and luxury seem to prevail in a high degree in those distant and little known regions." *Travels in the Conferation* (1783-1784), (translated by A. J. Morrison—2 vols., Philadelphia, 1911), II:70.

¹⁶"Report to the President, March 5 to June 11, 1790," *St. Clair Papers*, Wm. H. Smith, editor (2 vols., Cincinnati, Clarke, 1882), II:175.

¹⁷"A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey . . . 1796-1797," *American Historical Review*, V:534.

¹⁸The general financial difficulties of the Americans caused most of the troubles of the French. See *Illinois Historical Collections*. : *passim*. One discussion of this problem is that of Minnie G. Cook, "Virginia Currency in the Illinois Country," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1912—pp. 122-141.

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Americans?¹⁹ I will not call them to the stand. I will offer, instead, the testimony of General St. Clair, Governor of the Territory, an American with no necessary bias in favor of the French. His report to the President is an admirable summary of the conditions existing and of the causes of those conditions.

The Illinois country, as well as that upon the Wabash, has been involved in great distress ever since it fell under the American dominion. With great cheerfulness the people furnished the troops under General Clark, and the Illinois regiment, with everything they could spare, and often with much more than they could spare, with any convenience to themselves. Most of the certificates for these supplies are still in their hands unliquidated and unpaid; and, in many instances, where application for payment has been made to the State of Virginia, under whose authority the certificates were granted, it has been refused.²⁰ The Illinois regiment being disbanded, a set of men pretending the authority of Virginia embodied themselves, and a scene of general depredation and plunder ensued. To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops or prevented their being planted. The loss of the greater part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursions of some of the tribes which had ever before been in friendship

¹⁹The attitude of the French towards the Americans under Clark, and the treatment of the French by the Americans are recited in numerous petitions and memorials, a number of which are included in Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*. A calm and detailed statement that presents the whole history, military and economic, of the difficulties is the "Memorial of the Inhabitants of Illinois to the Commissioners of the State of Virginia, March 1, 1783," *Kaskaskia Record*, pp. 329-340. The justice of the French point of view is borne out by such comments as this by Major John Hamtramck of the U. S. Army: "If his Excellency does not come this year or some of the Judges, most of the people will go away to the Spaniards, for they begin to think that there are no such men as a Governor or Judges." Hamtramck to General Harmar, Fort Knox (Vincennes), 14 August, 1789, *Kaskaskia Record*, p. 509.

²⁰Two notorious cases are those of Charles Gratiot and Francis Vigo.

with them; and to these was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes.²¹

It must be obvious then that the implications (as well as perhaps the details) of such statements as that of Michaux do not offer a fair impression of the nature of the Illinois French of the late eighteenth century. Their poverty is not the result of a sinful indolence but of a combination of circumstances imposed upon them and for which they were helped to no remedy.

²¹*St. Clair Papers*, II:168.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS 1835-1860

By

DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE

In 1929 I published a brief monograph on "The First Printing in Peoria," to which was appended a bibliography of the Peoria book and pamphlet imprints then known to me. This list was based on the holdings of the Peoria Public Library, the New York Public Library, and the Chicago Historical Society—collections which I had had opportunity personally to examine.

After I had thus proclaimed my interest in early printing in Peoria, a number of friends and correspondents have called to my attention imprints which were not then recorded, and I have had opportunity personally to search other collections for issues of the Peoria press.

As the additions to the bibliography outnumber the imprints already described, and as the original booklet is now out of print, it seems best to consolidate the two lists in a revised bibliography of Peoria imprints through 1860.

Even the present list is probably far from complete, for there is available no easy means of locating the issues of the press in any community. The imprint catalogue of the New York Public Library is the only mechanism known to me which classifies titles for the period after 1800 by place of printing. This catalogue always gives the bibliographer something to start on.

The next move is to consult the catalogues of the local

library and of other libraries rich in local material of the community in question. We first look for official documents of the city or county. Local directories come next. Then we seldom fail to find constitutions, proceedings, or by-laws of the local Masonic lodges. The churches represented in the area during the pioneer period invariably yield a number of titles: in this instance, Protestant Episcopal and Baptist. The Odd Fellows and Good Templars are other author entries to be consulted. The educational institutions in the community or its near vicinity will be found to have patronized the local printers for the production of their catalogues and other publications.

By this time, we will undoubtedly have encountered a number of works by individual authors. When such a title is found, the search for other writings by the same author is indicated. Advertisements of new publications in the local newspapers provide additional titles, and one book or pamphlet will often be announced or advertised on the back cover of another.

Once we have a clue to author—either individual or institutional—copies of the book or pamphlet can often be located through the great Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, in which are recorded on cards the holdings of many of the most important American libraries.

The author represented most extensively in the issues of the early Peoria press is, of course, Bishop Philander Chase of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Many of his writings are listed in the present bibliography, and he would be represented even more largely had he not established at Jubilee College, fifteen miles from Peoria, a press of his own, on which many of his pamphlets were printed. These cannot properly be regarded as Peoria imprints, but they are exceedingly interesting and deserve a separate listing at some future time.

For assistance in finding and describing the additional

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

imprints here recorded, I am under special obligation to Dallas R. Sweney, of the Peoria Public Library, who has taken an active interest in this project, and to Miss Ruth Montgomery, of the same institution. To V. Valta Parma, the distinguished curator of the Rare Book Room at the Library of Congress, I am grateful for descriptions of numerous imprints which are entrusted to his care. I am also indebted to Mr. L. W. Elder, librarian of Knox College, at Galesburg, for describing for me official publications of that institution, many of which would not otherwise be known. Miss Lavinia Steele of the Iowa Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has been most helpful. I also desire to express my thanks to Mr. Paul M. Angle of the Illinois State Historical Library, and to the authorities of the Harvard College Library, the New York Public Library, and the American Antiquarian Society, for replies to many requests for detailed information. The imprints in the Chicago Historical Society I have personally examined and described. Finally, I extend my cordial thanks to my associate, Mr. Albert H. Allen, for his competent and painstaking aid in putting this bibliography together.

Key to Symbols used to indicate locations of copies

<i>CShH</i>	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
<i>DLG</i>	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
<i>DSG</i>	Surgeon General's Library, Washington, D.C.
<i>IBW</i>	Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington.
<i>ICHi</i>	Chicago Historical Society.
<i>ICJ</i>	John Crerar Library, Chicago.
<i>ICU</i>	University of Chicago Library.
<i>IG</i>	Galesburg Public Library.
<i>IGK</i>	Knox College Library, Galesburg, Ill.
<i>IHi</i>	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.
<i>IP</i>	Peoria Public Library.
<i>IPM</i>	Masonic Temple Library, Peoria.

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

- IU* University of Illinois Library, Urbana.
IaCrM Iowa Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids.
MH Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MWA American Antiquarian Society, Worcester,
 Massachusetts.
MiD-B Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Pub-
 lic Library.
McMurtrie .. Collection of Douglas McMurtrie, Chicago.
MnHi Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
NIC Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N. Y.
NN New York Public Library, New York City.
OCIWHi Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleve-
 land, Ohio.
Van Norman. Collection of Edward Van Norman, Peoria.

1835.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).

Journal | of the | Primary Convention | of the | Clergy and
 Laity | of | the Protestant Episcopal Church, | in the |
 Diocese of Illinois, | held in Peoria, on Monday, March 9,
 1835. | [*Short rule*] | Peoria: | Printed at the Champion
 Office. | [*Short rule*] | 1835. [1]

15 x 22.5 cm. 16 p.

NN. MiD-B. IP.

1837.

CHASE, PHILANDER.

Bishop Chase's | Pastoral Letter | to his | Diocese of Illi-
 nois: | read in | Springfield, Sangamon County, | at his |
 first meeting of his convention, | May 14, A. D. 1837. |
 [*Double rule*] | Peoria: | Printed at the Register Office. |
 1837. [2]

15.5 x 24.5 cm. 25 p.

"Advertisement" on verso of title page dated "Robin's Nest, Peoria Co.,
 Ill., 23 Aug., 1837."

IP. (lacks last leaf). *OCIWHi.*

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).

Journal | of the | Third Annual Convention | of the | Prot-
 estant Episcopal Church, | in the | Diocese of Illinois, |

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

held in Springfield, May 15th and 16th, | 1837. | [*Double rule*] | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1837. [3]
 13.5 x 21 cm. 16 p. Printed paper covers.
 NN. IP. CSmH.

1839

CHASE, PHILANDER.

[Bishop Chase's Address at the laying of the corner stone of the chapel and school house of Jubilee College. Peoria, 1839.] [4]

No copy known. Specifically referred to as having been printed, in *Review of Jubilee College*, 1843 (No. 13, below).

1841

[CHASE, PHILANDER.]

Published Quarterly. | [*Short rule*] | Fifty Cents per Number. | [*Double rule*] | Reminiscences | of | Bishop Chase. | [*Double rule*] | Peoria, Ill. | S. H. Davis, Printer. | [*Double rule*] | No. 1. July. 1841. [5]

14 x 22.5 cm. 120 p. Printed brown paper wrappers.

Cover title only; no separate title page.

DLC.

[CHASE, PHILANDER.]

Published Quarterly. | [*Short rule*] | Fifty Cents per Number. | [*Double rule*] | Reminiscences | of | Bishop Chase. | [*Double rule*] | Peoria, Ill. | S. H. Davis, Printer. | [*Double rule*] | No. 2. October. 1841. [6]

16 x 24.5 cm. p. 121-240. Printed tan paper wrappers.

Cover title only; no separate title page.

University of Illinois has these *Reminiscences* in a volume of 480 pages without a title page.

DLC. IU.

1842

KELLOGG, HIRAM H.

Education for the People. | An inaugural address, | delivered at Galesburg | February 2, 1842. | By | Hiram H. Kellogg, | president of Knox Manual Labor College, | Galesburg, Knox County, Illinois. | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1842. [7]

11 x 18.5 cm. 23 p.

IGK.

JOURNAL

OF THE

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

IN THE

DIOCESE OF ILLINOIS,

HELD IN SPRINGFIELD, MAY 15th AND 16th,

1837.

PEORIA:
S. H. DAVIS, PRINTER.
1837.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

KNOX [MANUAL LABOR] COLLEGE.

Catalogue | of the | Corporation, Officers and Students, |
of | Knox Manual Labor College, | Galesburg, Knox
County, Ill. | for the year ending | July 5, 1842. | Peoria: |
S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1842. [8]

10.5 x 17 cm. 12 p.

IGK.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).

Journal | of the | Seventh Annual Convention | of the |
Protestant Episcopal Church | in | the Diocese of Illinois,
held in | Rushville, Schuyler County, | on the | sixth and
seventh of June, | 1842. | [Rule] | Peoria: | S. H. Davis,
Printer. | 1842. [9]

13 x 21 cm. 16 p.

NN. IP.

1843

CHASE, PHILANDER.

A Letter | to | a Bishop | of the | Protestant Episcopal
Church, | by | the senior Bishop Chase, | of Illinois. |
[Double rule] | Peoria: | Printed at the Register Office. |
1843. [10]

13.5 x 22 cm. 6 p.

DLC. IGH*i*. CS*mH*.

[CHASE, PHILANDER.]

Three Letters | addressed to Bishop Chase, | in the mat-
ter | of the present indebtedness | of | Kenyon College, |
introduced by a letter from Bishop Chase to Bishop
M'Ilvaine. | [Double rule] | Peoria: | Wm. H. and S. G.
Butler, Printers. | 1843. [11]

13 x 20 cm. 24 p.

IP. MH. IGH*i*. IH*i*.

CHASE, SAMUEL.

The | Perpetuity and Identity | of the | Threefold Priest-
hood. | [Short thick-thin rule] | A Sermon, | preached in
the chapel of Jubilee College, | at the | ordination of Dr.
F. Southgate, | on the fourth Sunday in Advent. | By Rev.

Samuel Chase. | [*Double rule*] | Peoria: | Wm. H. and
S. G. Butler, Printers. | 1843. [12]

11 x 17 cm. 36 p.

On verso of title page letter requesting copy of the sermon dated Jubilee
College, Dec. 23, 1842.

IP. ICHi. MH. *McMurtrie*.

CHASE, SAMUEL.

Review of Jubilee College. | By Rev. Samuel Chase. |
Christmas, 1843. | [Peoria: S. H. Davis, 1843.] [13]

12 x 19 cm. 34 p.

Caption title. Imprint on p. 34: S. H. Davis, Printer, Peoria.

A review of five documents, four of which had been published. Two of
those reviewed, and specifically referred to as having been printed, were:
Bishop Chase's Address at the laying of the corner stone of the Chapel
and School House of Jubilee College, Peoria, 1839. And

An Account of the Landed Estate, Houses, and other Property of Jubilee
College. Robin's Nest, 1842.

ICHi. NN.

KNOX [MANUAL LABOR] COLLEGE.

Catalogue | of the | Corporation, Officers and Students, |
of | Knox Manual Labor College, | Galesburg, Knox
County, Ill. | for the year ending | July, 1843. | Peoria: |
William H. Butler & Co., Printers. | 1843. [14]

12 x 19 cm. 12 p. Unprinted paper wrappers.

IGK.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).

Journal | of the | Eighth Annual Convention | of the | Prot-
estant Episcopal Church | in | the Diocese of Illinois, | held
in | Quincy, Adams County, | on the | Fourth of June, |
1843. | [*Rule*] | Peoria: | William H. Butler, Printer. |
1843. [15]

13 x 21 cm. 20 p.

NN. IP. ICHi.

1844

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

The | Peoria Directory, | for | 1844: | containing | an
account of the early discovery of the country, | with | a
history of the town, | down to the present time: | An alpha-
betical list | of the different heads of families or house-
keepers, with their residences and occupations: | and |
much other statistical information, | never before pub-

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

lished. | [*Filet*] | By S. De Witt Drown, | Town Surveyor.
 [*Filet*] | Peoria: | Printed for the author. | 1844. [16]
 11 x 18.3 cm. 124,[2] p. and folded map.
 Printed by Samuel H. Davis and bound by F. J. Briggs, in April, 1844,
 according to Drown's *Record* (1851).
 NN. IP. DLC.

1845.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).
 Journal | of the | Ninth Annual Convention | of the | Prot-
 estant Episcopal Church | in | the Diocese of Illinois, | held
 in | Springfield, Sangamon County, | on the | sixteenth and
 seventeenth of June, | 1845. | [*Wavy rule*] | (No Conven-
 tion was held in 1844.) | [*Short rule*] | Peoria: | S. H.
 Davis, Printer. | 1845. [17]
 13.5 x 21 cm. 27p. Has frontispiece.
 NN. IP. ICHi.

1846.

BAPTISTS. ILLINOIS. BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION.
 Minutes | of the | Second Annual Meeting | of the | Baptist
 General Association of Illinois; | and of the | Eleventh
 Annual Meeting | of the | Illinois Baptist Education So-
 ciety; | and of the | Illinois Ministerial Conference; | held
 in | Peoria, October, 1846. | [*Short thick-thin rule*] |
 Peoria: | Samuel H. Davis, Printer. | 1846. [18]
 13.5 x 21 cm. 16 p.
 IGU. (2 copies).

[CHASE, PHILANDER.]

Memorandum | of | a Missionary Meeting, | held | on the
 2d and 3d days of October, 1846, | at the | residence of
 Bishop Chase, | Jubilee College, | Peoria County, Illinois. |
 [*Thick-thin rule*] | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1846.
 14.5 x 23 cm. 11 p. Printed pink paper wrappers. [19]
 IP. ICHi.

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free
 and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at its |
 seventh annual communication, | held in the city of
 Peoria, | October, A. L. 5846, | A. D. 1846. | M. W. Nel-

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GRAND LODGE

OF

Ancient Free and Accepted Masons,

OF THE

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

AT ITS

Seventh Annual Communication,

HELD IN THE CITY OF PEORIA,
OCTOBER, A. L. 5846.

M. W. NELSON·D. MORSE, Grand Master.

ORDERED TO BE READ IN ALL OF THE LODGES.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

son D. Morse, grand master. | [*Wavy rule*] | Ordered to
be read in all of the lodges. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Sam-
uel H. Davis, Printer. | MDCCCXLVI. [20]

13 x 21.5 cm. 87 p. Printed paper wrappers.

NN. *IPM. IaCrM. McMurtrie.*

KNOX COLLEGE.

Catalogue | of the | Corporation, Officers and Students, |
of | Knox College, | Galesburg, Ill. | for the year ending
June 24th, | 1846. | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1846.
[21]

13 x 20 cm. 16 p. Printed yellow paper wrappers.

IGK. IG.

1847.

CHASE, SAMUEL.

Malignity Exposed; | or, | A Vindication of Bishop Chase |
against the | malicious accusations of an anonymous pam-
phlet | printed in Ann-Street, New-York. | [*Dotted rule*] |
By the Rev. Samuel Chase, | Jubilee College. | [*Thick-thin*
rule] | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1847. [22]

15 x 23 cm. 40 p. Printed buff paper wrappers.

Cover title only, in decorative border.

The "anonymous pamphlet" was: A Plain Statement for the Considera-
tion of the Friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of
Illinois, the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, Bishop . . . New York: Turner &
Lawrence, Ann Street, 1846.

ICH*i*. MH. DLC.

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free
and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at its |
eighth annual communication, | held in the City of Quincy,
October, A. L. 5847, | A. D. 1847. | R. W. John R. Cran-
dall, deputy grand master. | [*Wavy rule*] | Ordered to be
read in all of the Lodges. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | S. H.
Davis, Printer. | 1847. [23]

14 x 22 cm. 120 p.

IaCrM. IP. *McMurtrie.*

KNOX COLLEGE.

Catalogue | of the | Corporation, Officers and Students, |
of | Knox College, | Galesburg, Ill., | for the year ending

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

June 23d, | 1847. | Peoria: | S. H. Davis, Printer. | 1847.
12.5 x 19.5 cm. 16 p. Printed gray paper wrappers. [24]
IGK.

1848.

BAPTISTS. ILLINOIS. BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION.

Minutes | of the | Baptist General Association of Illinois, |
Third Annual Meeting; | Illinois Baptist Education So-
ciety, | Twelfth Annual Meeting; | Illinois Baptist Pas-
toral Union, | Second Annual Meeting; | held in | Jack-
sonville, October, 1847. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Samuel
H. Davis, Printer. | 1848. [25]

13.5 x 21 cm. 16 p.

After this issue, the minutes of the Baptist General Association appeared
under the title of the minutes of the Illinois Baptist Pastoral Union.
ICU. (2 copies).

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free
and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at its |
ninth annual communication, | held in the city of Alton,
October 2d, 3d, 4th, & 5th, A. L. 5848, | A. D. 1848. |
[*Wavy rule*] | M. W. William Lavery, grand master. |
[*Wavy rule*] | Ordered to be read in all of the lodges. |
[*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Samuel H. Davis, Printer. | 1848.
12 x 20 cm. 124 p. [26]

IaGrM. IPM. McMurtrie.

1850.

BAPTISTS. ILLINOIS. ILLINOIS RIVER BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

[No. 14.] Annual Publication. [1850.] | [*Wavy Rule*] |
Minutes | of the | Fourteenth Anniversary | of the | Illinois
River Baptist Association, | held with the | Peoria Church,
Peoria, | Wednesday and Thursday, June 12th and 13th, |
1850. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria, Ill., | Thomas J. Pickett,
Republican Office, Printer. | [*Short rule*] | 1850. [27]

12 x 18 cm. 8 p. Printed Paper Wrappers.

Cover title only.

ICHi.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

DROWN, SIMEON DEWITT.

Annual | Peoria Record, | or Drown's Statistics, | by S. D. W. Drown. | Peoria, March 4, 1850. Number 5. [28]

20.5 x 31 cm. 4 p., including woodcut map of Peoria.

The numbering would indicate that publication of this annual began in 1846.

MWA.

MCNEILL, (REV.) F. A.

The | Lives and Confessions | of | Thomas Brown | and | George Williams, | who were convicted of the murder of | Harvey J. Hewitt, | on the 12th of October, 1850. | Also | their sentence, pronounced by | The Hon. Judge Kellogg. | [*Wavy rule*] | By Rev. F. A. McNeill. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Printed and for sale by E. O. Woodcock. | [*Row of dots*] | 1850. | [*Long wavy rule*] | Priced twenty-five cents. | Copyright secured. [29]

12 x 20.5 cm. 36 p. Title in border of typographic ornament.

IP.

PETERS, ONSLOW.

An Act to Provide | for | Township and County Organization, | in the | State of Illinois; | passed at the first session of the sixteenth General | Assembly, begun and held at Springfield, | Illinois, January 1, 1849, | with notes and forms of proceeding, | for | towns and town officers. | [*Dotted rule*] | By Onslow Peters, | a member of the Peoria bar. | [*Dotted rule*] | Peoria: Published by Pickett & Davis. | 1850. [30]

13.5 x 22.5 cm. 69,[3] p.

The firm of Pickett & Davis (Thomas J. Pickett and H. K. W. Davis) existed for only some six weeks, from the beginning of their *Peoria Daily Champion* on December 13, 1849, to the destruction of their plant by fire on January 26, 1850.

ICHi.

1851.

DROWN, SIMEON DEWITT.

Drown's Record | and | Historical View of Peoria, | from the discovery by the French Jesuit Missionaries, | in the seventeenth century, to the present time. | Also, an | Almanac for 1851, | Calculated for the Latitude and Longitude of Peoria, Illinois. | | | To which

DROWN'S RECORD
AND
HISTORICAL VIEW OF PEORIA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY BY THE FRENCH JESUIT MISSIONARIES,
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

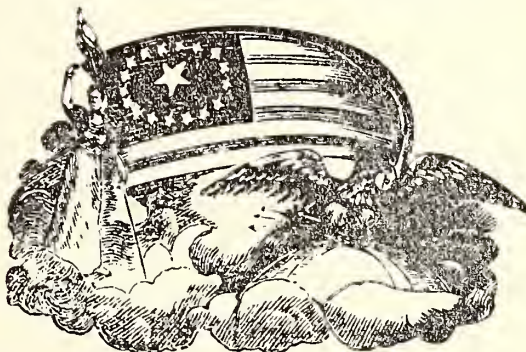
ALSO, AN
ALMANAC FOR 1851,

Calculated for the Latitude and Longitude of Peoria, Illinois.

Latitude 40° 40' North, Long. 89° 40' West from the Royal Observatory at
Greenwich; and 12° 40' West from the City of Washington.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A BUSINESS DIRECTORY OF THE CITY, WITH BUSINESS CARDS,
BY S. DE WITT DROWN.



PEORIA, ILL.

PRINTED BY E. O. WOODCOCK, MAIN STREET.

1850.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

is added | a business directory of the city, with business cards, | by S. De Witt Drown. | [*Vignette, U. S. flag, eagle, etc.*] | Peoria, Ill.: | Printed by E. O. Woodcock, Main Street. | 1850. | [1851.] [31]

11 x 18 cm. 164 p., [44] p. of advertisements. Printed heavy paper board covers.

The cover title reads: Drown's Record, | and | Historical View of Peoria. | With an | Almanac for 1851, | and | a business directory of the city. | [*Wavy rule*] | [*Vignette, same as on title page*] | Peoria: | Printed by E. O. Woodcock, No. 32, Main Street. | 1851. The ornamental border on the cover is different from that on the title page, and the typography also is quite different. On p. 122 of the *Record*, the author states that he completed it March 5, 1851. The preface is dated December, 1850.

NN. IP. *ICHi* (copy in printed paper covers, not boards). *IHi. DLC* (lacking last 44 p.). *NIC*.

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at their | twelfth grand annual communication, | held in the city of Springfield, | Oct. A.L. 5851. A.D. 1851. | M. W. Thomas J. Pickett, grand master. | [*Wavy rule*] | Ordered to be read in all of the lodges. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Printed at the Republican Book and Fancy Job Office, | MDCCCLI. 13 x 21 cm. 128 p. Printed tan paper wrappers. [32]

laCrM.

PEORIA. ORDINANCES.

The | Revised Ordinances | of the | City of Peoria, Illinois, | to which are prefixed, the | charter of the city of Peoria, | and | The Several Amendments Thereto. | [*Rule*] | Peoria: | Printed by Washington Cockle, Democratic Press Office. | 1851. [33]

14.2 x 22 cm. 86 p.

IP.

1852

ANDREWS, C. N.

Divinity, Law, and Medicine. Anniversary address of the Illinois State Medical Society, delivered before the Society, and citizens of Jacksonville, June 3, 1852. Peoria: B. Foster, 1852. [34]

8vo. 24 p.

Title from Index Catalogue of the Surgeon General's Library, U. S. Army, but the copy could not be found there October 4, 1933.

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS. GENERAL ASSN.

Minutes of the General Association of Illinois . . . Peoria:
B. Foster, 1852. [35]

Not located. Title from Sabin, 34213.

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free
and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at their |
thirteenth grand annual communication, | held in the city
of Springfield, | Oct., A.L. 5852, A.D. 1852. | M. W. Eli
B. Ames, grand master. | [*Wavy rule*] Ordered to be read
in all the Lodges. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Printed at the
"Republican" Book Office, by T. J. Pickett. | MDCCCLII.
13 x 21 cm. 144 p. Printed tan paper wrappers. [36]

laCrM.

FROST, JOHN.

Great Cities | of the | World. | In their | Glory and in their
Desolation. | Embracing | Cities of Europe, Asia, Africa
and America. | With a History of Important Events | of
their time. | By John Frost, LL.D. | Author of Perilous
Adventures of Travelers, etc., etc. | Peoria, Ill.: | S. H.
and G. Burnett. | [*Short rule*] | 1852. [37]

14 x 20 cm. 544 p. Illus.

Perhaps not printed in Peoria.

IP. NN. CSmH. DLC. MWA.

ILLINOIS STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY.

The | Transactions | of the | Illinois State Medical So-
ciety, | for the year 1852. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Printed
by B. Foster. | 1852. [38]

13 x 21 cm. 94 p. Printed yellow paper wrappers.

ICJ. DSG.

ILLINOIS WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

First Annual Catalogue | of the | Officers and Students |
of the | Illinois Wesleyan University | for the | Collegiate
year 1851-52 | Bloomington, Ill. | [*Rule*] | Peoria: |
Printed by B. Foster. | 1852. [39]

15 x 23 cm. 24 p.

IBW.

1853

BASCOM, FLAVEL.

A Discourse | delivered | at the funeral | of | Rev. Levi Spencer, | late pastor of the | Congregational Church, Peoria, Ill., | April 17, 1853. | By | Rev. Flavel Bascom, | Galesburg, Ill. | [*Wavy rule*] | Published by request of the Church. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Printed by Benjamin Foster. | 1853. [40]

13 x 20 cm. 17 p. Printed paper wrappers. Title in double-rule border. *IP*.

BLOSS, C. A.

Heroines | of | The Crusades. | By C. A. Bloss. | Author of "Bloss's History", etc. | "Old historic rolls I opened." | Peoria, Ill.: | S. H. and G. Burnett. | [*Short rule*] | 1853. 16.5 x 23.5 cm. 496 p. [41]

Perhaps not printed in Peoria.

Van Norman.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS. GENERAL ASSN. Minutes | of the | General Association | of Illinois, | at their | Annual Meeting in Quincy, | May 19, 20, 21, & 23, 1853. | [*Rule*] | Peoria: | Printed by Benjamin Foster. | 1853. [42]

21.5 x 14 cm. 11, [5] p.

IHi.

1854.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS (DIOCESE).

Journal | of a | Special Convention | in lieu of the | Seventeenth Annual Convention | of the | Protestant Episcopal Church, | in the | Diocese of Illinois, | held in | Trinity Church, Chicago, | On the Twenty-Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Days of October, 1854. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria. | Printed by Benjamin Foster, | [*Dotted rule*] | 1854. [43]

14 x 21.6 cm. 42 p. and folded chart. Printed paper covers.

Issued in the same covers is the Address of the Bishop of Illinois (New York), 1854, 26 p. and slip of errata).

NN. IP.

[SWEDENBORGIANISM]

Swedenborgianism | not | Christianity. | A | Lecture, | Delivered in Peoria, January 8th, | and | Subsequently by

Request, January 29th. | [*Long dotted rule*] | The author,
in preparing this Lecture, was essentially aided by Dr. |
Pond's able and just review of Swedenborgianism. | [*Long*
dotted rule] | Peoria: | Raney & Hildreth. | Morning
News Job Office. | 1854. [44]

14 x 21 cm. 21 p.

IP.

1855

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS. GENERAL ASSN.
Minutes | of the | General Association | of Illinois, | at
the | Annual Meeting in Jacksonville, | May 17, 18, 19 &
21, 1855. | [*Wavy rule*] | together with the | Constitution,
Articles of Faith, Rules of Business &c. | [*Wavy Rule*] |
Peoria: | Printed By Benjamin Foster. | 1855. [45]

21.5 x 13.5 cm. 27, [1] p.

IHi.

FREEMASONS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Proceedings | of the | Grand Lodge | of | Ancient Free
and Accepted Masons, | of the | State of Illinois, | at their |
sixteenth grand annual communication; | held at Spring-
field, October, A.L. 5855. | [Ordered to be read in open
lodge in all the lodges.] | [*Wavy rule*] | M. W. William
B. Herrick, M.D., grand master. | [*Wavy rule*] | [*Filet*] |
Peoria, Ill.: | Printed by Thomas J. Pickett. | 1855. [46]

13 x 21 cm. 176 p. Printed green paper wrappers.

IaCrM.

ILLINOIS STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY.

Transactions | of the | Illinois | State Medical Society, |
for the year 1855. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria, | Democratic
Press Office. | 1855. [47]

12.5 x 20 cm. 88 p.

Except for the years 1852 and 1855, the transactions of this society were
printed in Chicago.

ICJ. DSG.

PEORIA ACADEMY.

A | Catalogue | of | Peoria Academy, | for the | academical
year | 1854-55. | [*Rule*] | Peoria: | Printed at the "Daily
Transcript" Book Office | 1855. [48]

12 x 18 cm. 25 p. Plans.

IP.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

1856

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS. GENERAL ASSN.
Minutes | of the | General Association | of Illinois, | at
the | Annual Meeting in Ottawa, | May 21, 22, 23, 24, &
26, 1856. | Together with the | Constitution, Articles of
Faith, Rules of Business, &c. | Peoria: | Printed by Ben-
jamin Foster. | 1856. [49]

10.5 x 20 cm. 31, [1] p.

MWA.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

1856. | [Rule] | Root's | Peoria City Directory, | contain-
ing a | City Guide | and | Business Directory, | with valu-
able information compiled expressly | for this work. |
[Wavy rule] | Published by O. E. Root. | [Wavy rule] |
First Annual Issue. | Peoria: | Printed by Benjamin Fos-
ter. | 1856. [50]

11 x 18.5 cm. 180 p. Title page in border of typographic ornament.

Four daily papers are listed: *Peoria Democratic Press*, daily and weekly, E. P. Sloan, proprietor, No. 10 Main Street; daily, tri-weekly, and weekly *News*, George W. Raney, proprietor, corner Main and Water streets; daily and weekly *Transcript* (no proprietor named), corner of Water and Fulton streets; *Daily Evening Republican*, S. L. Coulter, publisher, 3rd story of Hotchkiss Building, Main Street, between Washington and Water (also *Tri-Weekly Republican* and *Peoria Weekly Republican*). There is also the *Illinois Banner*, a German weekly paper, A. Zotz, editor and proprietor. Job printers (other than newspaper offices) are the Ben Franklin Printing Office (Benjamin Foster), Hotchkiss Bank Building, corner of Main and Washington streets, and T. J. Pickett, 13 Main Street.

IGHi. IP.

1857

BONNEY, CHARLES C.

Speech | of | Charles C. Bonney, | of Peoria, | against an
act entitled an act to incorporate the | Illinois River Im-
provement Company. | Delivered on behalf of the Common
Council and citizens of Peoria, | at St. Louis, June 23rd,
1857. | [Wavy rule] | Peoria, Ill.: B. Foster, Printer, "Ben
Franklin" Office. | 1857. [51]

13.5 x 20.5 cm. 16 p.

IGHi.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. ILLINOIS. GENERAL ASSN.
Minutes | of the | General Association | of Illinois, | at
the | Annual Meeting in Elgin, | May 21, 22, 23 & 25,
1857. | [Rule] | together with the | Constitution, Articles
of Faith, Rules of Business, &c. | [Rule] | Peoria: |
Printed by Benjamin Foster | 1857. [52]

22 x 14 cm. 31 [1] p.

IH*i*.

DROWN, SIMEON DEWITT.

Peoria Record, | Drown's Statistics. | For March, 1857. |
Peoria: | Printed by S. De Witt Drown, | 1857. [53]
10.5 x 20 cm. 34 p., 8 leaves of advertisements. Printed paper wrappers.
If regularly issued annually, this would be the 12th number of the *Record*.
MWA.

PEORIA. CHARTER.

The City Charter, | with the | several laws amendatory
thereto, | and the | Revised Ordinances, | of the | City of
Peoria, Illinois, | . . . | arranged, revised, and published
under the authority of the City Council, | in the year 1856. |
By James M. Cunningham. | Peoria, Illinois: | Nason &
Hill, Printers and Publishers. | MDCCCLVII. [54]

14 x 22 cm. xiii, [3], 222 p.

IP. NN.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

Second Annual Issue—1857. | [Rule] | Root's | Peoria
City Directory, | City Guide and Business Register. |
[Rule] | Published by O. E. Root. | [Rule] | Peoria: |
Nason & Hill, Book and Job Printers, 4 Fulton St. | 1857.
14 x 21.5 cm. 139 p. [55]

The following newspapers are listed: *Democratic Union*, G. W. Raney,
editor and proprietor, 15 Water Street; *Evening Republican* (also tri-
weekly and weekly), S. L. Coulter, editor and proprietor, C. W. Waite,
associate editor (no address given); *Illinois Banner* (German semi-weekly
and weekly), A. Zotz, 13 Main Street; *Illinois Republikaner* (spelled
"Republicana" in the advertisement on p. 41), John P. Stibolt, editor,
No. 2 Fulton Street. Job printers are Nason & Hill and Benjamin Foster.
ICH*i*. IP.

1858.

CALL, OSMAN.

[Call's Short-Hand Self-Instructor, and Practical Arith-
metic; in which notation, numeration, addition, subtrac-

tion, multiplication, and division, are very much improved, which both simplifies and abbreviates business in a manner superior to any other system. By Osman Call. Peoria? N. C. Nason, Printer? 1858.] [56]

Copyrighted in 1858, according to a copy of an issue of this title dated 1861, which is in the Peoria Public Library. The 1861 edition had the imprint "Peoria, Ill.: N. C. Nason, Printer, Office of the Illinois Teacher, MDCCCLXI." The title is included here because of the possibility of an earlier issue, perhaps made up of the same sheets.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS. ILLINOIS. GRAND LODGE.

Journal | of the | Grand Lodge | of the | Independent
Order of Good Templars | of the State of Illinois. | [Short
rule] | Peoria, Ill.: | Re-printed by Harriman Couch. |
1858. [57]

13 x 20 cm. 178 p.

Journals of the 1st-5th sessions, 1855-1858.

NN. IP.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

Third Annual Issue—1858. | [Rule] | Root's | Peoria City
Directory, | for the year 1858. | Published by O. E. Root. |
[Rule] | Peoria, Illinois: | Nason & Hill, Printers, | 1858.
15 x 22.5 cm. 112 p. Printed paper-covered boards. [58]

Newspapers and periodicals: *Illinois Banner* (German daily and weekly), A. Zotz, proprietor, 13 Main Street; *Peoria Daily Democratic Union*, George W. Raney, proprietor, 4 Main Street; weekly and tri-weekly *Democratic Union* (same); *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Gilman Merrill, proprietor, William Rounseville, editor, corner of Water and Fulton streets; *Peoria Weekly Transcript* (same). Job printing offices: Ben Franklin Printing Office, Benjamin Foster, proprietor, Hotchkiss Bank Building, corner of Main and Washington streets; [Nathaniel C.] Nason & [Henry S.] Hill, 4 Fulton Street, 3d floor. Nason & Hill were the printers of the *Christian Sentinel*, the *Illinois Teacher*, and the *Memento* (Odd Fellows monthly).

IP.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

Fourth Annual Issue—1859. | [Rule] | Root's | Peoria City
Directory, | for the year 1859. | [Rule] | Published by Omi
E. Root. | (Subscription price \$2.00.) | [Rule] | Peoria,
Illinois: | Nason & Hill, Printers. | 1858. [59]

13.5 x 21 cm. 188 p.

Newspapers and periodicals: Daily and weekly *Illinois Banner*, Kappis & Rummel, proprietors, 13 Main Street, front room of second floor, "the only

German paper in Central Illinois"; *Peoria Daily Message*, William Trench and S. S. Brooks, editors and publishers, 4 Main Street, upstairs (also the *Peoria Weekly Message*); *Peoria Daily Democratic Union*, G. W. Raney, editor and proprietor, 17 Main Street (also the *Weekly Union*); *Illinois Standard*, "published in Chicago and Peoria simultaneously every Friday morning," T. K. Barrett & Co., 2 Water Street; the *Illinois Teacher*, N. Bateman, editor, and the *Memento* (an Odd Fellows' magazine), Nason & Hill, editors, both printed by Nason & Hill (N. C. Nason and Henry S. Hill). The only job printer (other than the newspaper and periodical offices) is Benjamin Foster's Ben Franklin Printing Office, Hotchkiss Bank Building, corner of Main and Washington Streets.

ICHi. IP.

PEORIA AND HANNIBAL RAILROAD.

Chief Engineer's | Report | of the | Peoria and Hannibal
Railroad, | containing | the charter, ordinances, | estimates
and condition of the road, | the | statistics of the country |
and | a map | showing its location and connections. | [*Wavy*
rule] | October, 1858. | [*Wavy rule*] | Peoria, Ill.: | Ben-
jamin Foster, Printer and Bookbinder. | 1858. [60]

13 x 21.5 cm. 34 p. and folded map. Printed paper covers.

NN. IP. MnHi.

1859.

BAPTISTS. ILLINOIS. ILLINOIS RIVER BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

Minutes | of the | Twenty-third Anniversary | of the | Illi-
nois River Baptist Association, | held with the | Canton
Church, | Wednesday & Thursday, June 8 & 9, 1859. |
With | the sermon | on | The Life and Labors of Joel
Sweet, | preached by J. A. Smith, | Editor of "The Chris-
tian Times," Chicago, Illinois. | [*Wavy rule*] | [*5 lines*] |
[*Wavy rule*] | Peoria: | Benj. Foster, Printer & Book-
binder. | 1859. [61]

11.5 x 18.5 cm. 11 p. minutes and 13 p. sermon. Printed blue paper
wrappers.

Cover title only. The sermon is imposed with the odd-numbered pages
on the left (p. 1 of the sermon on verso of p. 11 of the minutes).

ICU. ICHi.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS. GRAND LODGE OF NORTH AMERICA.

Proceedings | of the | R.W.G. Lodge of N. America, | of
the Independent Order of | Good Templars. | [*Filet*] |
Fifth Annual Session. | Held at Indianapolis, Ind., May

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

24th, 25th, 26th, 1859. | [*Filet*] | W. A. Ferguson,
R.W.G.S., Hamilton, C. W. | Peoria, Ill. | Printed by
order of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge | 1859. [62]
13 x 20.5 cm. 59, [1] p.
NN. IP.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

Fifth Annual Issue—1860. | [*Rule*] | Root's | Peoria City
Directory, | for the year 1860. | Published by O. E. Root, |
by subscription only. Price \$2.00. Subscribers' names in-
serted in | capital letters. | [*Rule*] | Peoria, Illinois: |
Office of Nason & Hill, Printers and Publishers. | Dec.,
1859. [63]

14 x 22 cm. 192 p.

Newspapers listed: *Peoria Daily Democratic Union* (also weekly), G. W. Raney, editor and proprietor, 6 South Adams Street; *Die Peoria Deutsche Zeitung* (daily and weekly), Edward Rummel, editor and proprietor, 13 Main Street; *Peoria Transcript* (no advertisement, but listed in directory under Nathan C. Greer, publisher); *Peoria Poster*, "a weekly advertising and news paper," Ben Franklin Printing Office, Hotchkiss Bank Building corner Main and Washington Streets. Job printers: Nason & Hill, 6 Fulton Street; Harriman Couch, 6 South Washington Street; Benjamin Foster, 29 Main Street, corner of Washington.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

First Annual Issue | of | Beatty's | City Directory | of
Peoria, | containing a historical sketch; a statistical and
com-mercial account of the resources, banks, Board of |
Trade, Board of Aldermen and City officers, gas | & coke
and bridge companies, justices of the | peace, fire com-
panies and wardens, libra-ries, associations and orders;
river | distances; packets; railways and stage | distances
and fares; | also a | Business and Alphabetical Directory. |
[*Rule*] | Price, \$1.50. | [*Rule*] | J. T. Beatty, - - - Pub-
lisher. | [*Rule*] | Peoria, Ill.: | Daily Transcript Steam
Printing Establishment. | 1859. [64]

14.5 x 23 cm. 126 p. Printed paper-covered boards.

A note at the end explains that the business directory was not published with this volume but would be published later in pamphlet form for gratuitous distribution.

Newspapers and periodicals: *Illinois Banner* (German daily and weekly), [Gustavus] Kappis & [Edward ?] Rummel, proprietors, 13 Main Street; *Peoria Weekly Standard* (mentioned elsewhere as the *Irish Standard*), a family newspaper "neutral in politics and religion," Thomas K. Barrett,

DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE

proprietor, Standard Newspaper, Book and Job Printing Office, Water Street, near Main; *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Nathan C. Greer, editor and publisher, 4 Fulton Street; *Peoria Weekly Transcript* (same); *Peoria Daily Democratic Union*, George W. Raney, proprietor, 17 Main Street; *Peoria Weekly Democratic Union* (same); 2 weekly advertising sheets, the *Reporter*, and the *Commercial Advertiser*. Job printing offices: [Nathaniel] C. Nason & [Henry S.] Hill, 6 Fulton Street, upstairs; Benjamin Foster, printer and bookbinder, Hotchkiss Bank Building, corner of Main and Washington Streets; and the various newspaper offices.
IP.

PEORIA TRANSCRIPT.

A | Descriptive Account | of the | City of Peoria, | containing a | Sketch of its Early History, | together with a | view of its present | Business, Manufactories, | &c., &c., &c. | Compiled from the Peoria Transcript. | Peoria, Ill.: | Transcript Book and Job Printing Establishment. | 1859.
13.7 x 22.2 cm. 32 p. [65]

The publisher of the Peoria Transcript was N. C. Greer. The pamphlet contains nothing touching on newspaper or printing history.
IP. IHi. DLG. CSmH.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PASTORAL AID SOCIETY.

The | First Annual Report | of the | Protestant Episcopal | Pastoral Aid Society | in the | State of Illinois. | Also, | Proceedings of the first annual meeting; first annual report of the Pastoral Aid | Society of the Diocese of New York; and the address of | Rev. J. T. Brooke, D.D. | [*Dotted rule*] | Peoria, Ills: | Peoria Daily Transcript Steam Printing Establishment. | 1859. [66]

13 x 23 cm. 40 p. Printed blue paper wrappers.
ICHi.

WRIGHT, C. MONTAGUE.

Published by Request. | A Discourse | on | Immortality. | "If a Man Die He Shall Live Again." | By C. Montague Wright, A.M. | A member of Peoria Conference. | [*2 lines, quotation*] | Henry, Illinois. | Printed by Woodcock and Couch, Peoria, Illinois. | 1859. [67]

11.5 x 18 cm. 12 p. Printed green paper wrappers.
Cover title only; no separate title page.
ICHi.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEORIA IMPRINTS

1860

BALLANCE, CHARLES.

Speech | of | Charles Ballance, Esq. | [*Short rule*] | Delivered in the Wigwam, Peoria, Oct. 5th, 1860. | [*Short rule*] | [Peoria ? 1860.] [68]

14 x 22.5 cm. 8 p.

Caption title; no imprint. Text in 2 columns. Perhaps a reprint from a Peoria newspaper?

MH.

ODD FELLOWS, INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF.

Volume I. 1838-1852. | [*Rule*] | Revised Journal | of the | R. W. Grand Lodge of Illinois | I. O. O. F., | from its organization till the session of 1852. | [*Rule*] | Prepared by Order of the Grand Lodge. | [*Rule*] | Peoria, Illinois: | Printed by N. C. Nason, at the "Memento" Office, Fulton St. | 1860. [69]

21.5 x 13.5 cm. [ii], 355 p.

IHi.

PEORIA. DIRECTORY.

Sixth Annual Issue—1861 | Root's | Peoria City Directory, | for the year 1861. | Published by O. E. Root, | . . . | Peoria, Ill.: | Printed by N. C. Nason, Fulton St., Corner Washington. | 1860. [70]

14 x 21 cm. 184 p.

Newspapers and periodicals: *Illinois Teacher* (monthly educational magazine) and *Memento* (Odd Fellows monthly magazine)—both published by Nathaniel C. Nason, 32 Fulton Street; *Illinois Banner* (German weekly newspaper), published by William Geilhausen, 47 North Washington Street; *Peoria Daily Transcript*, published by Enoch Emery and Edward A. Andrews, 14 South Adams Street; *Peoria Weekly Transcript* (same); *Peoria Democrat* (German daily), edited and published by Alois Zotz, 39 North Washington Street; *Peoria Daily Democratic Union*, George W. Raney, proprietor, 25 South Adams Street; *Peoria Weekly Democratic Union* (same); *Peoria Deutsche Zeitung* (German daily and weekly), published by Edward Rummel, 19 Main Street; *Independent* (weekly), published by William B. Whiffen and Frank E. Nevins, 37 North Washington Street.

Job printing offices: Ben Franklin Printing Office, Benjamin Foster, proprietor, over Howell's Bank, corner of Main and Washington Sts.; Henry S. Hill, corner of Fulton and Washington Streets; Nathaniel C. Nason, Fulton Street, corner of Washington; and the various newspaper offices. IP.

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Festival | of the | Sons and Daughters | of | Pennsylvania, |
held at | Rouse's Hall, | On Tuesday Evening, March 6th, |
1860. | [*Dotted rule*] | Compiled from the Peoria Trans-
cript. | [*Dotted*] | Peoria, Ills: | Transcript Steam Print-
ing Establishment. | 1860. [71]

15 x 23 cm. 20 p. Printed green paper wrappers.

Cover title only, in decorative border.

ICHi.

IN MEMORIAM
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE, 1860-1934

By

MARGARET C. NORTON

Miss Georgia Lou Osborne died in Jacksonville, Illinois, on April 15, 1934. She had been connected with the Illinois State Historical Library for thirty-one years, from 1901 to 1926 as assistant librarian, and from 1926 to 1932 as librarian. During the last six years of this time she also served as secretary to the Illinois State Historical Society. Her ambition to die in the service of the institution to which she was so devoted was denied her. Three years ago she was struck and seriously injured by an automobile. Although she returned to her duties within a few weeks, she never regained her health and was forced to resign on March 1, 1932. Death was due to complications resulting from her accident.

Miss Osborne was born in the Antioch neighborhood east of Jacksonville, December 25, 1860, the daughter of Robert Tilton and Elizabeth DeWeese Osborne. She was a descendent from Francis Cooke of the Mayflower company; likewise from Garrett Hendricks DeWees, a Huguenot refugee who emigrated from Holland to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1689. Following her graduation from the Young Ladies' Atheneum of Jacksonville, she took up library work, first in Jacksonville. In 1901 Governor Richard Yates appointed her assistant librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield. Upon the death of the librarian, Mrs. Jesse Palmer Weber, in 1926,



GEORGIA L. OSBORNE, 1860-1934

Miss Osborne was appointed librarian. Of her eight brothers and sisters she is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Jessie Metcalf of St. Louis and Mrs. Elizabeth Best of Hollywood, California, and a brother, William C. Osborne of Chicago. Funeral services were held on April seventeen at Jacksonville and burial was in the Diamond Grove cemetery there.

Miss Osborne held membership in many organizations, among them the American Library Association, National Association of State Libraries, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Abraham Lincoln's branch of the National Pen Women's League of American Pen Women, the Springfield Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Springfield Woman's Club, the Springfield Art Association, the Amateur Musical Club of Springfield, and was an honorary member of the Sorosis Society and the Conversational Club of Jacksonville. She was also an active member of the Central Christian Church of Jacksonville.

The Illinois State Historical Library is a living memorial to two remarkable women, Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. They worked together as librarian and first assistant for twenty-five years, a record unique in American library history. When Mrs. Weber was made librarian in 1898, the library was small and insignificant. At her death in 1926, the Illinois State Historical Library collection contained 75,000 volumes on Illinois and American history and 3,600 volumes of Lincolniana and was recognized as one of the outstanding historical institutions in the country. It is impossible to speak of either Mrs. Weber or Miss Osborne without mentioning the other, nor to evaluate their individual contributions, and neither would have wished one to attempt to do so. Their qualities complemented each other and both worked tirelessly and unselfishly towards a single end. Mrs. Weber was the

executive, devoting herself largely to the broader aspects of planning: organizing and collecting material and gaining popular and legislative support for the library. Miss Osborne was the detail worker who through cataloging and especially reference work, made the resources of the library available to the public.

Miss Osborne's vivacious and charming manner, her remarkably retentive memory, her thoroughness, and above all her obvious zest for the search, made her the ideal reference librarian. She became a recognized authority upon Illinois history, Lincoln lore and genealogical research. Although she found little time for writing herself, she contributed much to the research embodied in other authors' books and articles. Her one desire was to help others, and she never withheld any of her vast knowledge from anyone who asked her assistance. No work was too hard, no reference question too insignificant for her best efforts. One of the most modest and unselfish of women, few except those of us privileged to work beside her realized until she was made chief librarian how capable and efficient she had been.

As librarian, Miss Osborne continued and broadened the policies of her predecessor. She always took particular interest in the Lincoln collection and planned the displays for the Lincoln room built especially to display museum material on Lincoln. She also planned and executed the Lincoln room for the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. She also built up one of the best genealogical collections in the Middle West and compiled a bibliography of *Genealogical Works in the Historical Library* in 1914, which was revised in 1919, and to which she added annual supplements in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society. During her administration, Mrs. Minna Schmidt of Chicago, presented the group of 102 figurines of representative Illinois women which has

been one of the most popular and instructive permanent exhibits. Miss Osborne selected the subjects for these figurines and compiled the biographical volume describing the collection. The annual programs which she prepared for Illinois Day and the annual May meetings of the Illinois State Historical Society were of high merit and brought to Springfield speakers of national reputation, among them such men as General John McAuley Palmer, Dr. Louis A. Warren, Prof. Isaac J. Cox, Prof. J. A. James, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, Dr. William E. Pearton, Prof. George M. Stephenson and Prof. Carl Russel Fish, as well as many valuable contributions by Illinois residents.

In the passing of Miss Osborne the State of Illinois has lost an outstanding public servant and the members of the Illinois State Historical Society a loyal and much loved friend.

HISTORICAL NOTES

BUREAU COUNTY'S RED COVERED BRIDGE

In the fall of 1862, thirty-five legal voters residing within three miles of the Princeton-Dixon road went before the Board of Supervisors of Bureau County at their September meeting and presented before that body a petition for a permanent bridge over Bureau Creek, about three and one-half miles north of the Princeton Depot. Spokesmen for the petitioning body were J. R. Hoskins and James W. Lockhard. The Board of Supervisors accepted the petition and three of its members were appointed as viewers of the spot and were instructed to report at the next meeting. The committee was made up of N. Mateson, John Shugart, and S. B. French. They were given the power to locate a suitable place for building the bridge across Bureau Creek. The three men on this committee received \$1.50 for their services.

In earlier years this stream was known as Robinson's River, called so by the Indians. Several small bridges had been built across this stream at different times, but in times of high water the bridges were washed away.

January 20, 1863, before the March meeting of the Board of Supervisors had occurred for that year, a subscription list was circulated among the people interested in the construction of the bridge. C. M. Priestley of Princeton Township, Isaac Heaton and J. T. Carpenter, the soliciting committee, found ready and willing response from nearly every one asked to contribute. At the close of their short campaign of solicitation it was found that Princeton had

HISTORICAL NOTES

donated \$932, Ohio, \$230, Bureau Township, \$186, making a total subscription of \$1,348.

At the supervisor's meeting in March, the report of the viewers was made and accepted. The county board took favorable action on the petition and appropriated one-third of the cost of construction provided it would not exceed \$1,000 and at the same time made a provision that the work of construction should start in three months. Dover Township should pay \$1,000 toward the cost and the balance was to be raised by subscription.

According to public notice, those who were interested in the construction of a bridge met at Wm. Carse's store March 7, 1863, to organize for building said bridge. At one o'clock they met at the court house and on motion of Mr. Priestley, James Ross was chosen as chairman and Simon Elliott secretary of the meeting. Enoch Lumery gave a verbal report of the action of the supervisors. The report of the soliciting committee was next made showing they had raised \$1,348.

On motion of Colonel Thompson a committee of seven men present was elected by ballot to act as a building committee. The men elected were J. T. Thompson and C. M. Priestley from Princeton Township; James Ross of Ohio Township; Abott Ellis and John Mason of Dover Township; Isaac Heaton of Bureau Township. J. V. Thompson was elected to represent the county at large. The committee was styled as the "Union Bridge Builders."

P. N. Newell was authorized to act as secretary and treasurer, his duties to collect the subscriptions and pay them over to the Union Bridge Builders. Much lumber and iron used in the construction of the bridge was shipped here by Nathan Chapin and Co. from Chicago, and was hauled out by John Huffstodt. All accounts in connection with the cost of erecting the bridge were paid in full April 16, 1864. Out of the money raised by subscription and

HISTORICAL NOTES

appropriation to build the bridge there remained a balance of \$31.88. The committee decided to paint the bridge red and fence the approaches to the bridge. Many of the men who promised subscriptions worked their subscriptions out.

The red covered bridge is an historical landmark northwest of Princeton on the old Peoria road through Bureau County to Dixon's Ferry on Rock River. The construction of hard road route number 89 north from Princeton will take a heavy traffic from the old bridge and its use will be mostly for the farmers living north and west of it.

I could find no authentic information about the building of this bridge. So when my father was serving as Supervisor of Dover Township, he wanted the county highway board to place a bronze tablet in it. It had stood there ever since he could remember, so I undertook to help him secure the information. I could find nothing in the library so was told about some old newspapers that belonged to the Bureau County Historical Society which I found in the basement. I came across a notice (public) calling the attention of people who had to help keep up the pontoon bridge that was washed away after every heavy rain or ford the river, so I knew I was on the right track. I consulted the supervisor's report for the year 1863, and I found a little more information. To me the most important thing was a little vest pocket note book that was kept by someone who did the soliciting and was in the hands of Mr. Lovejoy at that time. (He has since passed on and I have wondered many times about what became of that book.)

I had all the elderly people helping me hunt for facts. Aunt Belle Heaton could tell about how they had company and when the young ladies wanted to go home and came to the creek and the bridge was washed away, the water was so high they were afraid to try to swim their horses across so there was nothing to do but turn around and go back and stay two weeks longer.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The story is told that Joseph Bryan, father of Frank Bryan, was the first man to drive his team through the bridge hooked to a light wagon and that he had to jump them to the approaches.

MRS. INA SHUGART HOOVER.

Princeton, Illinois.

FARMING IN ILLINOIS IN 1837

The following letter gives an excellent idea of agricultural conditions in central Illinois nearly a hundred years ago. Dated Carlinville, August 30, 1837, it was written by John McCullough to his brother-in-law, Robert McCray, who lived at Bulltown, Lewis County, Virginia. John McCullough resided near Atwater, in Shaw Point Township, Macoupin County. The letter is now in the possession of Kenneth McCullough of Waggoner, by whose courteous permission it is published.—Ed.

Friend Robert:

It is a good while since I have heard or seen anything from you—your last letter seemed to say you would be here soon—very soon. We have looked and listened but you no come yet.

I shall not describe the country as no doubt you have seen and heard as much as is true—I like the soil very well—the climate not so well. 'Tis too changeable and too wet, but this country is filling up fast, towns improving and all kinds of property high priced—this place four years ago had six families and two stores, now nine stores and sixty families. Sangamon and Morgan Counties have each about 20,000 inhabitants. Springfield now the seat of government, about 2,000.

Land with some improvement in Sangamon \$10 and \$15 per acre. In this county five to ten. In two years horses have risen 25 percent—oxen 50 to 75 per yoke—milch cows 15 to 20 and sheep two dollars per head—also sucking mules \$30 to \$40 per head—wheat one

HISTORICAL NOTES

dollar per bushel—these two years past corn meal 50, oats 25, pork last fall \$4.00 pr. hundred, fresh beef 4 to 6 cents per lb., salt 1.50 per bucket, sugar 12, calicos 12 to 37, janes 1 dollar, high price wages \$1.00 to \$2.00 per day, laborers .75 to one dollar per day and 19 to 20 pr. month—spinners or house maids one dollar to one fifty pr. week. But of all keep me from lawyers, doctors and Whigs—S. Hoover sold his land in Sangamon (160 acres for \$800) and removed to McDonough County 100 miles north of this place. He left us third of May 1836. He has 190 acres land himself, and wife, James & John, Brice & Young, Sarah and Mary was all well about three weeks ago. F. Hudson lives 25 miles north of me has 185 acres. I left there last Sunday all was well his youngest sons name George Washington, his daughter Jane to be married tomorrow to Wm. Hodgerson a worthy young man—

I removed to my own land last Feb—have 120 acres of timber & 120 of smooth prairie on the east side of Maccoupin Creek. This prairie is seven miles wide eastward and stretching north and south too far to name. We live seven miles N.E. from Carlinville, 35 miles south of Springfield, 60 miles north of St. Louis & 40 miles northeast of Alton City, on the Mississippi in this State also, 60 miles east of the Illinois river.

Crops this season are of about the middle rate and we expect no fall in the prices of grain. Our health as a family have been good since we came this State. We are all well at present. This season though rather wet has proved very healthy. Two years ago at this season there was sickness in most families yet there were few fatal cases. Sally is quite lean at present but in good health. She had an attack of earake last winter that seemed to threaten her life—it lasted two weeks. Our youngest daughter Mary Susan was two years old last March—and youngest son, Thomas Jefferson Benton, a big fat babe born the 20 day of April last—Please take turn and let us know how all is going with you and Brother James, what your prospects are

HISTORICAL NOTES

and wishes, hopes and so on are. I think you have enough by now to make a long letter and we would like to read one from you when the nights gets long—

With usual respects &c

John McCullough.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Two centennial celebrations of more than ordinary magnitude have already marked the summer of 1934.

Rockford celebrated its one hundredth birthday with a program which commenced on May 20th and concluded on May 26th. Four of the seven days were devoted to the districts east, west, north and south of the city, the fifth day was Rockford Day, the sixth Centennial Day and the seventh Church Day.

The feature of the Rockford centennial was a great pageant performed by more than 800 persons. Depicted were episodes showing the life and customs of the Winnebago Indians, the activities of the early fur traders and missionaries, the coming of the first white settler, Stephen Mack, and his Indian wife, Hon-No-He-Gah, the founding of the city, the arrival of the first immigrants, the establishment of the first churches and schools, and the development of Rockford industries.

Rockford was founded in 1834 by Germanicus Kent and Thatcher Blake, whose names have been perpetuated in schools, creeks and streets.

Sterling's centennial celebration began with the registration of former residents on June 14. On the 15th the major activity was the dedication, by the American Legion, of a marker to Hezekiah Brink, the founder of Sterling. Saturday, June 16th, was featured by a procession in which the hundred-year development of the city was depicted. On Sunday, June 17th, the churches kept open house. The observance concluded with a sacred concert by the massed bands, choirs and musical organizations of the city.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Highland Park Historical Society, organized December 20, 1933, elected the following officers at its meeting on February 13, 1934: president, William Wrenn; vice president, Roland Brand; secretary, Marie Ward Reichelt; executive committee, Jesse L. Smith, T. R. Morris, Cora Hendee, Alfred W. Stern, Mrs. Fred Norenberg, Hiram L. Kennicott. After the election of officers, Mrs. Bess Bower Dunn of Waukegan, spoke on the history of the Lake County Historical Society.

In its new building the Highland Park Public Library has provided an historical room with a generous supply of fireproof files. Contributions of material relating to the history of Highland Park are invited.

The McLean County Historical Society held its annual meeting in the McBarnes Building at Bloomington, on March 8, 1934. Officers and directors as follows were elected: president, William B. Brigham; vice presidents, Campbell Holton and Mrs. Celia McBarnes; secretary, Mrs. A. Y. Barnard; treasurer, David Davis; directors, J. C. Aldrich, Wayne C. Townley, Lyman R. Fay, Mrs. Clara D. Munce, J. L. Hasbrouck, Harry C. Read and Clark E. Stewart.

At the meeting the mysterious disappearance of a stone marker weighing more than a ton was reported. The marker was an inscribed granite shaft which stood on the site of a pioneer blockhouse in the northeast part of the county. The company which made the marker has the original drawings, and a similar one may be erected in place of the original.

Other marking projects in contemplation were discussed at the annual meeting. Included are the site of the Indian battlefield near Arrowsmith; the old grist mill in Mt. Hope Township, known as Moore's mill; and an early Indian trail through McLean County.

HISTORICAL NEWS

In spite of several intensive searches which have been made, no portrait of John McLean, for whom McLean County was named, has ever been discovered. McLean served in the Illinois legislature, the national House of Representatives and the United States Senate. In 1821, a portrait of him was presented to the Illinois House of Representatives, then sitting in Vandalia, but if it is still in existence its present location is unknown. Information as to the location of this or any other portrait of John McLean will be welcomed by Wayne C. Townley, Unity Building, Bloomington, Illinois, or by the Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The newly formed Peoria Historical Society met on April 2, 1934, at the Pere Marquette Hotel. Theodore Seamans of Bradley Polytechnic Institute, spoke on the subject, "Some New Facts on Fort Crevecoeur." The Society is making plans for systematic research in many phases of Peoria's history.

With the recent public opening of the William E. Barton Lincoln collection, the University of Chicago takes rank as one of the chief repositories of Lincolniana. William E. Barton's library is the nucleus of a collection of more than 4,000 books and pamphlets. Included also are a number of autograph letters, contemporary cartoons, broadsides, prints and engravings.

The April, 1934, number of the *Illinois Journal of Commerce* contains an interesting article by Caroline McIlvaine on the work of an Illinois artist, Lane K. Newberry of La Grange, who is finding subjects for his canvases in historic Illinois. The article is illustrated with reproductions of Mr. Newberry's paintings of the Preëemption House at Naperville, Brigham Young's house at Nauvoo, the

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Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia, Branton's Tavern near Galena, the Rutledge Tavern at New Salem, and Warrenville, Du Page County's oldest town.

Altogether, Mr. Newberry has painted twenty-six Illinois subjects. Exhibited in May, in the lobby of the Chicago Motor Club, the paintings will be displayed successively at the Stevens, Congress and Drake Hotels. The public exhibits will last throughout the summer.

The University of Missouri Studies for January 1, 1934 (Vol. IX, No. 1) is devoted to a most interesting and valuable study entitled "Introduction to A Survey of Missouri Place-Names," by Robert L. Ramsey, Allen Walker Read, and Esther Gladys Leech. For six years intensive study of Missouri place-names has been carried on under the auspices of the Department of English of the University of Missouri. Seven graduate theses on this subject have been completed, and others are in preparation. To date sixty counties out of the 114 in the state have been covered.

The "Introduction" referred to above contains a detailed plan for place-name study, an extensive bibliography, and a model survey of the place-names of Pike County, Missouri. Anyone interested in place-name study in Illinois will find many valuable suggestions and aids in this publication.

The Illinois Police Association, which celebrates its fiftieth anniversary during the current year, announces an essay contest on the subject, "The Epic of the Prairie State." Each contestant is to write on the six events in the history of Illinois which, in his or her opinion, are most significant. First prize is \$100, second prize \$50, third prize \$25. In addition, prizes will be awarded five children in each county. County winners will receive round-trip transportation to Chicago and tickets to the Fair and to the

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Association's pageant, "The Epic of the Prairie State." Rules of the contest may be secured from the Illinois Police Association, 11 So. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.

Since the list of deceased members of the Illinois State Historical Society was published in the January, 1934, number of the Journal, the Secretary of the Society has been informed of the following deaths: Mr. George A. Brennan, Chicago; Mr. J. A. Gordon, Hamilton, Ill.; Dr. Carl Heper, Chicago; Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Jacksonville, Ill.; Mrs. A. B. Reeve, Princeton, Ill.

The passing of these members, some of whom were affiliated with the Society for many years, is recorded with deep regret.

CONTRIBUTORS

Carlton C. Qualey is a graduate student at Columbia University. His paper, "The Fox River Norwegian Settlement," was especially prepared for this number of the Journal. William Nelson Moyers, of Mound City, is the author of "A Story of Southern Illinois," published in the Journal for April, 1931. Douglas C. McMurtrie is director of typography for the Ludlow Typograph Co. of Chicago. The Journal for October, 1933, contained his paper, "The First Printers of Illinois." John Francis McDermott is a member of the English faculty, Washington University, St. Louis. Miss Margaret C. Norton, author of the memorial notice of Miss Georgia L. Osborne, is Superintendent of Archives, Illinois State Library.

CHICAGO AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By

BLAINE BROOKS GERNON

The actual and conjectured influence of lands and places upon the thought and action of Abraham Lincoln have, year by year, been written and added to the growing and already voluminous collection of *Lincolniana*. And yet, to the followers of the man, ever thirsty for every word that might throw further light on any phase of his life, the works are all too few. These avidly read every drop of ink shed in his name that finds its way into papers, pamphlets, leaflets, magazines, and books until, with John, we are obliged to agree that "if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written."¹

It might be supposed that only at his birthplace in Kentucky, or near his boyhood home in Indiana, or on the hill of New Salem could the spirit of Lincoln be recaptured; or that the search might end in "lost" Vandalia, or in his home town, Springfield, or at Washington. Yet the towns that once composed the Eighth Judicial Circuit are rich in memories of him as is every town and hamlet in Illinois where once he spoke or tried a lawsuit. So with Chicago. One is surprised at the number of his visits, the length of his stays, and at the close friends that Mr. Lincoln made in the town.

It is unlikely that prior to 1832, Lincoln ever heard of Chicago save stories of the Fort Dearborn massacre or an obscure item or two that may have caught his all-seeing

¹John, 21:25.

eye in the *Sangamo Journal*. Small wonder, for in those early days it was a struggling little hamlet in the north-eastern part of the state at the corner of Lake Michigan. The state, in 1831, contained only fifty-one counties, and one-third of its area was uninhabited except by Indians. A majority of the people lived south of Vandalia, in the southern third portion of the state, and had migrated from southern states; while the northern counties often contained less than two people per square mile. St. Louis was the metropolis of the West with its population of six thousand people. Thus Lincoln, with the rest of the state, looked south and east for news and gossip. Nevertheless, that same year saw the first shipping pass from the East through Chicago, by way of the lakes, bound for St. Louis at a saving of a third of its former cost.

1832 AND 1834

In the Black Hawk War, in 1832, Lincoln the soldier, talking to the men of Winfield Scott, may have heard that on their way from the East they had been detained in Chicago by cholera. Yet the town played a very obscure part in that warfare.

The year 1834 saw young Lincoln, twenty-five years of age, postmaster of New Salem, deputy surveyor of Sangamon County and man-of-all-trades, in Vandalia, the state capital, as a whig legislator, where he met all comers. And here he met and knew the representatives from the "wild region" of Cook County: James M. Strode, Peter Pruyne, Albert C. Leary, James Walker, Joseph Naper,² Ebenezer Peck,³ Richard Murphy, Gholson Kercheval,

²Joseph Naper was the founder of Naperville, Ill. He was a member of the Legislature, 1836-40 and 1852-57

³Ebenezer Peck was born in Portland, Me., 1805. After serving in the Canadian Provincial Parliament, he came to Chicago in 1835. He was a member of the Illinois legislature, 1838-42, 1859-61. A close friend of Lincoln, he was one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois.

John Pearson, and Gurdon S. Hubbard — the last named being the town's lobbyist. When Springfield actually became the state's capital in 1839, Lincoln met many lawyers and politicians from Chicago, although it was not until the fifties that the city began to make itself felt in state affairs.

1835-1836

Julius E. Olson, following the (sole) testimony of "Captain" Berger, believes that in 1835 or 1836, Lincoln visited Port Washington, Sheboygan and Milwaukee, in Wisconsin.⁴ If this were true, we might be certain that he went through Chicago on the trip, but the evidence is flimsy and unsubstantiated. Yet Lincoln was quite a traveler, and the trip is within the range of possibility. The surprising part is that he never told anyone in New Salem about it.

1839

The first mention, by newspapers of Chicago, of anything concerning Mr. Lincoln occurred in 1839, an item discovered by the painstaking Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago: the Chicago *American*, on Friday, November 29th, noting:

WHIG ELECTORS IN THE FIELD

A. Lincoln and Cyrus Walker, Esq., candidates for Whig electors, have been addressing the people at Springfield on subjects of national politics, etc.

This might lead to the conclusion that Lincoln had previously visited Chicago. The city was a Whig stronghold, which might also account for its interest in these two candidates.

⁴Olson, "Lincoln in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Sept., 1920

1840

On the morning of June 3rd, Abraham Lincoln, thirty-one year old Whig and lawyer, legislator, and resident of Springfield for more than three years, walking through the dusty streets of his home town, saw a strange and wondrous sight—fourteen teams, four tents, and a commandeered government yawl rigged up as a two-masted brig, drawn by six fine gray horses that made their way through that same dust. Aboard the brig he saw ten delegates dressed as sailors in white suits with red sashes. Nearby he could see a truck drawn by four horses, aboard which was the Chicago Band, also dressed as sailors. Enroute, Captain David Hunter, later to become a general in the Union Army, and the intimate of Lincoln, was, from time to time, firing a six pound cannon. The brig was thirty feet in length, and above the top mast floated a banner with the inscription: "Tippecanoe." Chicago and Cook County had come to the great Whig Convention, hilarious, happy, and confident. And Lincoln was meeting Justin Butterfield, Giles Spring, John Gage, S. Lisle Smith, Gurdon S. Hubbard, and J. Young Scammon. A hilarious crowd indeed! The Chicago *Tribune*, back home, was characterizing the trip as "a drinking frolic on a great scale—a mere political orgie."⁵ But Lincoln and the hopeful Whigs knew differently—Chicago was lending color and noise to a great national election, and the Whigs needed both.

1844

Henry W. Blodgett, in his *Autobiography*, states that in June of 1844, while a law student in the office of J. Young Scammon, he saw Lincoln there on a visit. Unfortunately, this visit is not substantiated. Not promi-

⁵*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1914, p. 149.

nent by that time, the newspapers might not have noticed his visit, although they usually gave him an item. Chicago was a Whig stronghold and Lincoln was well known in those circles, so that it seems that his visit would have caused some notice, however slight. Blodgett's memory for the date may be at fault, not a surprising thing to those who seek accurate data on Lincoln. Few can return in later years to the affairs of their youth and cite accurate dates.

1847

It is generally agreed that Lincoln first saw Chicago at the great Rivers and Harbors Convention⁶ which met from July fifth to seventh in 1847. This meeting, of a mass nature, was sponsored by William Mosely Hall of Buffalo, to demonstrate to President Polk that his veto of the (inland) rivers and harbor bill was ill-advised, and that such legislation was both desirable and necessary.⁷

Chicago was then a town of some sixteen thousand people, to which were added, temporarily, twenty-five thousand delegates and visitors. The resultant bedlam can be imagined. Not a single railroad entered the town, and visitors poured in by boat, stage, horse, and on foot. The newspapers, a week before the opening date, pointed out that "the city is already taxed to its full extent" and called upon the citizens to "demonstrate their western hospitality by throwing open their houses."⁸ The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* thought that "every city from Dan to Bersheba will be represented at the convention." Steamers ran special trips from Buffalo, Niagara, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Saint Louis.⁹ Canal boats in

⁶Shaw, "A Neglected Episode in the Life of Abraham Lincoln," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1922.

⁷Fergus, "Chicago Rivers and Harbors Convention, 1847," *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 18.

⁸Chicago *Daily Journal*, June 30, 1847.

⁹*Ibid.*, June 1, 1847.

New York made special rates. Great numbers found sleeping quarters aboard boats in the river and harbor, but thousands camped in the streets and on the open prairie. Jim Curtiss, the mayor, must have had a busy time of it.

Abraham Lincoln, age thirty-eight, Whig Congressman-elect, was present, the *Chicago Daily Democrat* noting: "Hon. A. Lincoln of the Illinois delegation is in this city."¹⁰ He wore "a short-waisted thin swallow-tailed coat, short vest of the same material, thin pantaloons scarcely coming down to his ankles, straw hat, pair of brogans, and woolen socks." Small wonder that, even then, he was called "Old Abe."¹¹ But he was a river-man, and this was his proper sphere. All of his life he had and was to live close to some river. In Kentucky, he had played near Knob Creek, while in Indiana he saw the broad Ohio River for fourteen years. In Illinois, his three homes were on or near the Sangamon, and at Vandalia he saw the winding Kaskaskia. Two of his greatest adventures — trips to New Orleans — had been on rivers; and in Washington, he was daily to gaze upon the rippling waters of the Potomac. In 1842, he almost fought a duel on an island in the Mississippi. So that he must have felt at home in Chicago, that hot summer of 1847, for rivers and harbors were very close to him. Perhaps the sluggish waters of the Chicago River reminded him of his own costly experiences as a river-man at New Salem, and he may have smiled ruefully at such remembrances.

Reading the newspapers of the town, the Springfield Whig must have noted that the *Chicago Daily Democrat*¹² was pushing the claims of his close friend, Edward D. Baker, for Vice President, and even for chief executive.

¹⁰July 13, 1847.

¹¹Elihu B. Washburne, "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," *North American Review*, Oct., 1885.

¹²June 29, 1847.

Interested in theatres, Lincoln could have noted that at the Chicago Theatre, Rice was offering such players as Dan Marble and Mrs. Hunt. Brookes' advertised an exhibition of paintings; and, if interested in horse races since leaving New Salem, he saw that Chicago was offering a season of this sport.¹³ The Sauganash Hotel advertised that it took "baggage to and from the boats free of charge;" while the Florence and Rathbuns of New York advertised their accommodations in the local papers. Kit Carson had just been commissioned a Lieutenant in Fremont's Rifle Company; and Weeks & Company lured investors on with promises of prizes of ten thousand dollars in a Grand Lottery.¹⁴

On July fifth, the convention opened with a great parade at nine-thirty in the morning, P. Maxwell acting as marshal. In the square had been erected a tent to hold twenty thousand people! The convention itself was a great one, and to Lincoln its sessions must have been of great interest. Here he saw Tom Corwin of Ohio, Governor William Bebb of the same state; Edward Bates of Missouri, the chairman; Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, destined to become Vice President; and other men who were to occupy high places in the states and the nation. In the course of its proceedings, A. Lincoln of Illinois, was called out and answered David Dudley Field of New York, administration defender and "the most commanding figure at the American bar," but then, Lincoln had been meeting the best of them in the "great debates" of 1839.¹⁵ He must have been impressed by Bates, for fourteen years later he placed him in his cabinet. Bebb impressed these Illinois

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Chicago *Daily Journal*, June 30, 1847.

¹⁵The "great debates" of 1839 were held in Springfield during December, 1839. Participating were Stephen A. Douglas, Josiah Lamborn, John Calhoun and Jesse B. Thomas for the Democrats; Lincoln, Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker and O. H. Browning for the Whigs.

Whigs and they used him in later campaigns. Horace Greeley, scribbling for his newspaper, must have noticed Lincoln because eleven years later he passed him up for Douglas.

On July seventh, the convention over, Lincoln was making his way back to Springfield, by boat or stage, and he was carrying a "lot of ideas" under his old straw hat.

That same year saw Stephen Arnold Douglas, junior United States Senator from Illinois, leader of the Democrats of the state, shake off his feet the mud of Quincy and move to the growing city of Chicago,¹⁶ leaving his old bailiwick to Bill Richardson to hold against such stout Whigs as Orville Browning and Archie Williams. And that move was to be of great consequence to both Douglas and Lincoln.

In Washington, Lincoln met a Chicagoan, one of the state's delegation, "Long John" Wentworth, Democrat, Dartmouth graduate, newspaper man, just twenty-four years of age. And Wentworth's friendship was to be of great assistance to the Whig. Likely, John told Lincoln something of the dreams of Chicago, but that individual was busy weaving his own dreams for Springfield, just then.

In the capital, tall, gaunt A. Lincoln, sole Whig from his state, rash beyond recall, was "pulling chestnuts out of the fire" for his party, only it was called "smoking out the President." To his later embarrassment, he was offering a series of resolutions designed to ascertain exactly where the Mexican War began and to determine which had been the aggressor—Mexico or the Democrats!¹⁷ Back home, in Illinois, Billy Herndon, his partner, was alarmed, for he knew how popular was that same war. The

¹⁶Frank E. Stevens, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3, 4), 398

¹⁷Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 424-27.

Chicago *Daily Democrat* did Lincoln untold good by refraining from printing those resolutions and the debates thereon, but stating, somewhat tersely: "Mr. Lincoln offered a series of resolutions on the subject of the Mexican War, which were laid over."¹⁸ Had all the other newspapers of the state done the same, Stephen Trigg Logan might have gone to Congress in 1848.

1848

Back from Congress and a successful speaking tour in New England on behalf of the Whig national ticket, came A. Lincoln and wife, talkative of the wonders of Niagara Falls. In Chicago, registered at the Sherman House on October fifth, sixth, and seventh,¹⁹ they learned that the Illinois-Michigan Canal had been completed; and that Cyrus McCormick was turning out five hundred reapers a year. Lincoln also learned that the outposts of the telegraph system had reached Chicago, Springfield, and St. Louis. Looking around, he could see that the town was growing, and perhaps he inspected the new "Galena depot," recently completed. On October sixth, he made a campaign speech in the Court House Square for Zachary Taylor. Which of his speeches did he use? We do not know, because no newspaper published it. The Chicago *Daily Democrat* did note: "Hon. A. Lincoln and Family passed down to Springfield this morning on his way home from Congress."²⁰ We may be sure that the Lincolns enjoyed the hospitality of such Whigs as Scammon and Grant Goodrich, both prominent lawyers.

1849

Lincoln's further chances for Congress had been passed on to his second law partner and close friend, Stephen

¹⁸Dec. 31, 1847.

¹⁹*Lincoln Lore*.

²⁰Oct. 7, 1848.

Trigg Logan; and that poor man had been badly defeated by Major T. L. Harris, a veteran of the Mexican War. Poor Logan, smarting under his defeat, was blaming Lincoln's war record, and not without reason. Thus Mr. Lincoln, unpopular at home (so he felt), was looking around on other fields for political office. Why not? Had not the Whigs just elected a President and had he, Lincoln, not played an important part in that campaign? His eye fell on the office of the Commissioner of the General Land Office — salary three thousand dollars a year. The last two incumbents, Shields and Young, were men of Illinois, so that the state would have superior rights to the office. The trouble was that E. D. Baker, Whig boss of northern Illinois, was espousing the cause of Don Morrison; while Lincoln was committed to the cause of Cyrus Edwards, Whig leader of the southwestern part of the state. Of course, Lincoln was holding himself open in case Edwards failed. Word finally came that the choice lay between Lincoln and Justin Butterfield of Chicago, and the lawyer of the Sangamon fumed for he well knew that the Chicagoan had supported Henry Clay and not Taylor in the pre-convention contest. And so he girded for battle — Butterfield likewise. They canvassed their respective districts for letters and endorsements, spreading over the state. Butterfield was daring for he invaded Springfield and secured letters against Lincoln! The latter raged, but to no good. The Chicagoan had a trump card up his sleeve in his friendship with Daniel Webster, who finally secured for him the coveted appointment, to the disappointment of Lincoln and the mistrust of Edwards.²¹

In Springfield, matters were even worse, for the local Whigs did not take kindly to the Edwards mix-up nor

²¹Thomas Ewing, "Lincoln and the General Land Office, 1849," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Oct., 1932.

to the drop of their party strength and prestige in Logan's defeat. Kindly Grant Goodrich, his eye on the future growth and importance of Chicago, offered Lincoln a change of scenery in a law partnership in Chicago, which the latter, fortunately as matters turned out, refused. How changed his life might have been had he, in 1849, moved to Chicago.

1850

The year 1850 found Lincoln out of politics and bent on becoming a fine lawyer. In Springfield, he good-naturedly made his way, joking with his neighbors; while on the circuit, in company with David Davis, Leonard Swett and others, he traveled by stage or horse, trying lawsuits and having a good time throughout. All the while his reputation as a lawyer was growing. Up in the little town of Aurora, on the Fox River, in Kane County, some forty miles out of Chicago, Charles Hoyt was worrying about a lawsuit commenced by Parker to be tried in the United States District Court at Chicago. And so he bethought himself of Lincoln in Springfield, and sent for him. In the back of his store, seated on some buffalo robes, they discussed the case.²² Sometime around the sixth of July of 1850, Lincoln was climbing aboard the stage and riding off to Chicago, via Peoria, a distance of two hundred and forty-nine miles, entailing a trip of three days, at a cost of twelve dollars.²³ Watching the lengthening shadows creep across the prairies from Frink's stagecoach, he could ponder on the rough and dangerous trip that lay ahead from Ottawa to Joliet.

Trial began on the ninth and lasted to the twenty-fifth,²⁴ so that Mr. Lincoln spent some fourteen or fifteen days in Chicago, a long stay for the rider of the circuit. Yet it

²²Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, II, 81.

²³Chicago Directory, 1845-46.

²⁴Chicago *Daily Journal*, July 25, 1850.

was a fine opportunity to make friends and improve old ones in the city by the lake. He may have wandered down to the river or to the edge of the lake to gaze upon the boats and ships — some great-masted schooners, others steamboats. Chicago was teeming with immigrants and the northern part of the state now contained three-fourths of the population. Cook County had a population of forty-five thousand, and Chicago was establishing an omnibus service. That year had seen the city's incorporation.

What did Lincoln see in the city, that hot July of 1850? The town did not then bear the reputation it now does as a summer resort. Nevertheless, a glance through the newspaper files reveals that ships were daily arriving in the harbor with colorful immigrants. It was advertised that on July eleventh a benefit concert would be held in the City Hall for the firemen of Engine Company Three; while on the fifteenth and sixteenth would be held the concert of the Columbians.²⁵

The newspapers were full of the illness and death of the Whig President, Zachary Taylor, finally giving much space to his life and that of his successor, Millard Fillmore. Douglas' great speech in the Senate on the admission of California was quoted in the July issues, to his probable gratification and Lincoln's envy. Subsequent events were to make these issues a political liability, but who could foresee what was to follow? Yet the Springfield lawyer must have envied the space given to the Little Giant.

On the twenty-fifth, Lincoln had his chance, for he gave, by invitation, in the Court House, a eulogy on Zachary Taylor, ending with his sombre but favorite poem: "Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal Be Proud?" The Chicago *Daily Journal* carried the address in full on

²⁵Chicago *Daily Democrat*, July 11, 1850.

the Saturday and Monday, following. Home went A. Lincoln, and he carried with him happy memories of Chicago where he had won a lawsuit and made a fine address—to say nothing of having heard some good stories.

Abraham Lincoln, riding the circuit in central and eastern Illinois, must have chuckled as he read that feeling was running so high in Chicago against the Fugitive Slave Act that the city's council had passed a resolution condemning Douglas and those who had assisted in its passage—a resolution in which it was stated that the law was both “cruel and unjust,” and which likened its supporters to “Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed His Lord and Master for thirty pieces of silver.”²⁶ All reckoned without the Little Giant, who returning to town, addressed a mob for three hours²⁷ and won them over, and then forced the Council to repudiate itself.²⁸ Yet if Lincoln differed from Douglas at this time, he gave no utterance of it. It must have been apparent, however, to both men, that sentiment in Chicago was daily growing against slavery, and that was all-important to them.

1851 TO 1853

William E. Barton, in his delightful little book, *The Influence of Chicago Upon Abraham Lincoln*, offers the hazard that during the years 1851, 1852, and 1853 Lincoln “must have frequently visited Chicago,”—although he admits that he has been unable to discover any real evidence to substantiate such visits. We confess that our search has brought no better results, the files of the Chicago newspapers revealing nothing. During those years, Mr. Lincoln was engaged in the practice of law

²⁶Stevens, *Douglas*, 412-13.

²⁷At a mass meeting on Oct. 23, 1850.

²⁸Nov. 29, 1850.

on the Eighth Judicial Circuit, in occasional cases off that circuit, and in Springfield; and he was decidedly "out of politics." So that, without the excuse of law or politics, it is extremely unlikely that he came to Chicago in that period.

1854

Again, Barton, careful biographer, gives credence to Lincoln's attendance at an anti-Nebraska caucus in April of 1854, in Room Four at the Tremont House, Chicago, attended by Trumbull, Browning, and others, called to unite on an anti-Nebraska candidate for Senator to oppose James Shields. This Barton wrote in 1922, following Andreas' *History of Chicago*. We also found the meeting recorded in Freeman and Bennett's *Politics and Politicians of Chicago*, published in 1886. Nevertheless, two things must be apparent. (1) Such a meeting, if actually held, could not have been possible before the late summer for the reason that the so-called Nebraska Bill was still *pending in Congress in April*. Introduced on January twenty-third, Douglas made his great speech upon it on March third, and it did not pass until May twenty-sixth.²⁹ It is extremely unlikely that sentiment against Douglas and the bill would crystallize until after its passage. That would wait until Trumbull and Wentworth returned to town with the details. The strange part of it is that although the Chicago newspapers raged during the debates on the bill, no mention is made of such a caucus of all-important state figures in Chicago. (2) Trumbull and Wentworth were in Washington all during the spring of 1854 taking active part in the fight; Browning's *Diary*³⁰ shows that during the month of April he was busy in Quincy and Rushville, going to Lexington, Kentucky, in May; and Paul M. Angle's *Lincoln: 1854-1861*, indicates

²⁹Stevens, *Douglas*, 459.

³⁰*Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, I, 135-38.

that Lincoln was on the circuit for the same period. Both of these last books were published after Barton's thesis, so that he did not have access to them. But there is stronger evidence than all of this. In the absence of conflicting evidence, Lincoln's own statement must be taken as conclusive, and he stated: "In the autumn of 1854 he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than to secure, if possible, the reelection of Hon. Richard Yates to Congress."³¹ And even at that time, he had no idea Shields could be defeated. Although the very personnel of the caucus makes it look plausible, no real evidence has ever been found to substantiate it.

Angle, in his *Lincoln: 1854-1861*, puts it within the range of the possible that Lincoln, in company with some members of the Legislature, citizens of Springfield, and editors, left that town for Chicago, on February sixteenth, staying in the city on Friday, the seventeenth, and returning to the capital the next day. The newspapers of both Chicago and Springfield offer no evidence to connect Mr. Lincoln with the group, yet, knowing his love for a crowd and a trip, it looks plausible. The party may have gone to Rice's Theatre, built in 1851; or to the Metropolitan Hall, opened that year.³² It is to be regretted that Lincoln did not keep a diary, like his friend Browning. How simple it would have made matters!

Home at last, in September, came Stephen Arnold Douglas, "conqueror of the best of them," but he did not return as befits a leader of the nation.³³ Looking out of train windows, on his trip from the East, he had seen himself being burned in effigy;³⁴ while in Ohio, some women had given him thirty pieces of silver.³⁵ The newspapers

³¹Nicolay & Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1894), I, 644.

³²Gilbert & Bryson, *Chicago and Its Makers*, 76.

³³Stevens, *Douglas*, 463.

³⁴McLaughlin, *History of the American Nation*, 391.

of the North had picked out his middle name and had dubbed him "Benedict" Arnold.³⁶ Yet, even all of this did not prepare the little man for what was to follow. On the evening of September first, he stood up in North Market Hall (at Illinois and Dearborn streets, on the site of the old county jail), in Chicago, to give an account of his stewardship, and that audience proved hostile beyond³⁷ any expectations. The crowd yelled "meows" and "boos," and sang, "We won't go home until morning."³⁸ At midnight, wearied and disappointed, Douglas pulled out his watch and announced that he was going to church and bade the crowd to "go to hell." Chicago and North Market were demonstrating the rising tide against Douglas, the Nebraska Act, and the Democrats.

Two months later, on October twenty-seventh,³⁹ Lincoln spoke in the same hall, strange paradox; and a Chicago newspaper, reporting the speech, said: "Abraham Lincoln never trims a speech to suit a latitude — he is always the same man,"⁴⁰ — about as nice a compliment as he ever received. Inasmuch as he had broken away from court duty at Urbana, it is unlikely that he remained in the city more than one day. But Chicago had a population of seventy-five thousand, — and Lincoln was the leader of the dying Whigs, their last candidate for the Senate, and needful of support of every kind. Hopefully he looked to Chicago for that support.

1855

The years were rolling by and February eighth saw forty-four year old Abraham Lincoln being nominated for

³⁶Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln*, II, 9.

³⁶Stevens, *Douglas*, 463.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Sandburg, *op. cit.*, II, 9-10.

³⁹Angle, *Lincoln: 1854-1861*, 43.

⁴⁰Chicago *Daily Journal*, Oct. 30, 1854.

the United States Senate by his second partner, Stephen Trigg Logan, in a joint session of the Illinois Legislature,⁴¹ his apparent rival being James Shields, his one-time opponent in a duel. The first roll call led off well enough with Lincoln in the lead, forty-five votes; Shields, forty-one; Lyman Trumbull, five; and with eight scattering. The seventh ballot showed that Shields was out of the race and that the old line Democrats were behind Joel A. Matteson. On the tenth, Lincoln threw his strength to Lyman Trumbull, an anti-Nebraska Democrat, in order to bring about the defeat of Matteson and his crowd. Chicago played a very important part in that election for had five anti-Nebraska Democrats (Judd, Palmer, Cook, Baker, and Allen) gone over to Lincoln, he would have won, for two others (Gillespie and Babcock) stood ready to make the change and so stated.⁴² Thus Norman Buell Judd of Chicago, helped to make possible the defeat of Lincoln for the Senate in 1855, something that Billy Herndon never forgot.

In 1855, Chicago was boasting of its population of eighty-five thousand, its fifty-seven hotels, and new school — Chicago University, built on land which Douglas had donated. Cyrus McCormick was trying to force all rivals out of the field of building reapers, and a group of his rivals had decided to oppose his patent claims by supporting John H. Manny of Rockford, Illinois, in a test case, which it was supposed would be tried before Judge Drummond in the federal court in Chicago. P. H. Watson, patent attorney of Washington, D. C., and George Harding of Philadelphia, came on to Chicago to employ local counsel to assist them in the trial. They sought out I. N. Arnold, who remembered his good friend Lincoln in Springfield, and sent them to him. Thus a

⁴¹*House Journal*, 1854-55, 348.

⁴²Barton, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, I, 346

Chicagoan secured for Lincoln employment in a very important lawsuit.

Monday, July second, found the Sangamon lawyer in Chicago,⁴³ in attendance upon matters in the federal court, — Clark *vs.* Stigleman, which was sent back to Springfield; and Forsythe *vs.* Peoria,⁴⁴ in which Lincoln and Williams were opposed to Browning who represented the defendant.⁴⁵ This visit was of sixteen days' duration, since he did not leave the city until the seventeenth — time to look around.

July fourth, the city enjoyed several celebrations, but knowing Mr. Lincoln's leanings toward the Germans, we may somewhat safely hazard a guess that it was this celebration that attracted his presence. They began with a parade made up of various German lodges and societies, ending with a great meeting in Dearborn Park, where they were addressed by Francis Hoffman.⁴⁶ The day's issue, and others, were full of outrages in Kansas. S. B. Ledger was in town with his "grand balloon," ill-fated, for it was its last appearance. Calvin A. Fitch was speaking at South Market Hall.⁴⁷ On this visit, Lincoln went to Rockford to study first hand the Manny reaper. (Why doesn't some citizen of that town follow Currey's example with regard to Evanston?)

Perhaps, with Browning, Lincoln walked down to the harbor and to the river, for we shall always expect to see him with a crowd. The railroad depot would have been of interest, for shipping was finding its way into town. Judge John McLean of the United States Supreme Court, was then sitting with Judge Drummond in the court in Chicago. Lincoln and others considered the judge of

⁴³Angle, *op. cit.*, 79.

⁴⁴Chicago *Weekly Democratic Press*, July 21, 1855.

⁴⁵Browning *Diary*, I, 191.

⁴⁶Chicago *Weekly Democratic Press*, July 14, 1855.

⁴⁷Daily *Democratic Press*, July 10, 1855.

presidential timber, so they must have discussed national issues. In town were Senator William Lewis Dayton, destined to become Lincoln's Minister to France; Chief Justice H. M. Greene of the same state; two Cincinnati judges — Bellamy Storer, and Spencer.⁴⁸

Although opponents in the lawsuit, the eleventh found Browning, Williams, and Lincoln having "tea at Blackwells." A search of the newspapers' files and directories fails to reveal any restaurant, tea shop, or hotel by that name, so we may safely assume that they were the guests of Robert S. Blackwell, in his home at 217 State Street. Blackwell had known Lincoln in Vandalia, and the other two lawyers in Quincy. Browning thought that McLean favored his side of the case and so understood his instructions to the jury. Sure enough, on Saturday the fourteenth, those same twelve men brought in a verdict against Lincoln's client.⁴⁹

Next day, to town came the Honorable Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, on a trip back from the West, — he who, a year later, was to be attacked on the floor of the Senate by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, and struck so violently that he was not to recover for several years. And to town came "Bat" Webb, old line Whig of Carmi, friend of Lincoln, one time wooer of Mary Todd Lincoln, and once the "Beau Brummel of Springfield." What a time they must have had, and what a story one might write, with a stretch of the imagination! On the sixteenth, Browning notes that "Hay arrived from Pittsfield."⁵⁰ Had Lincoln remained until the nineteenth he would have seen the great John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, intimate of his father-in-law, Robert Todd.⁵¹

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, July 12, 1855; *Browning Diary*, I, 189-90.

⁴⁹*Browning Diary*, I, 190-91.

⁵⁰Milton Hay, an uncle of John Hay. Shortly after this Milton Hay removed to Springfield and formed a partnership with Stephen T. Logan.

⁵¹*Browning Diary*, I, 192-93.

1856

In 1856, the Whigs were dead or dying, the Abolitionists springing to life, and the Democrats divided. Mindful of the need of a fusion of all of these elements, all factions were meeting in Bloomington on the twenty-ninth of May, in a sort of convention, later to be called the first Illinois State Republican Convention.⁵² They wanted to elect a state ticket, and help the national candidates to win. A few weeks before, Lincoln had written to Herndon: "...will meet you, radicals and all;" but he was fearful of those same radicals. Standing at the Alton depot in Bloomington, watching the arrivals from Chicago, he felt reassured at the sight of Norman Buell Judd, for he exclaimed to Whitney: "Judd is here, and he's a trimmer."⁵³ He was further reassured at the sight of Wentworth, Joe Medill, and Ray, the latter two with their pencils in hand. Like the others, they became absorbed in Lincoln's talk — and so it became a "lost speech." The tone of the convention was decidedly "Kansas," and one of the reasons for this was the arrival of Chicago newspapers filled with stories of the firing of a Free State hotel and the destruction of a free newspaper in that state. Chicago was felt at Bloomington — likewise Lincoln.

On Friday, June twentieth, Mr. Lincoln was attending court in Urbana⁵⁴ when he was shown a copy of a Chicago newspaper, which told that the Springfield lawyer had received one hundred and ten votes for Vice President at the first National Republican Convention.⁵⁵ That issue must have thrilled him despite his modest remark that it must be some Lincoln from Massachusetts. Which paper

⁵²Wharton, "The Beginning of the Republican Party in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1911, 63.

⁵³Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, 75.

⁵⁴Angle, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁵⁵Whitney, *op. cit.*, 80.

it was, we cannot tell, but the Chicago *Democratic Press* of June twentieth carried the story.

An elector in the Fremont campaign of 1856, Lincoln made some fifty speeches for the ticket; and the fifteenth of July found him leaving Springfield for Chicago⁵⁶ on his mission for "Fremont and Jessie," the latter being the popular wife of Fremont and the daughter of Senator Benton. The Chicago *Democratic Press* took the liberty of announcing a "Meeting Saturday Night . . . Hon. A. Lincoln, State Elector, will speak for Freedom and Fremont to the citizens of Chicago on Saturday evening this week. Due notice will be given of the place of meeting. . . ." ⁵⁷ The seventeenth and eighteenth saw him in Dixon and Sterling;⁵⁸ but on the nineteenth he was back in Chicago, addressing an open air meeting in Dearborn Park,⁵⁹ then platted at Washington and Michigan avenues, on the present site of the public library. The *Democratic Press* thought the speaker "clear, calm, and forceful," presenting the only issue as "freedom or slavery."⁶⁰ He remained in town until the twenty-second, going to Galena for the twenty-third. He was in town again from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-sixth, when he left for Springfield.⁶¹

On August twenty-seventh, Lincoln spoke in Kalamazoo, Michigan,⁶² so that he must have passed through Chicago, although no newspaper records the visit.

The campaign over (and lost for the national ticket), the Sangamon lawyer, on December ninth, was in Chicago in the matter of *Durfee and Green vs. Sherman and Bay*

⁵⁶Angle, 133.

⁵⁷July 17, 18, 19, 1856.

⁵⁸Angle, 133.

⁵⁹Chicago *Daily Democratic Press*, July 21, 1856.

⁶⁰*Weekly Democratic Press*, July 26, 1856.

⁶¹Angle, 134.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 139.

in the federal court, where with Grant Goodrich he was representing the defendants, against Hiram Beckwith.⁶³ The opportunity was too good a one to miss for the Republicans had just carried the state ticket, an amazing feat. Hence, the tenth, a Wednesday, in the evening, found him at the banquet of three hundred Republicans, in the Tremont House, then located at the southeast corner of Lake and Dearborn streets. The dinner was a sumptuous one consisting of fourteen courses, at which letters were read from Cassius M. Clay, Seward, Chase, and others. Lincoln responded to the toast: "The Union — the North will maintain it — the South will not depart therefrom," — an unfortunate forecast, taken lightly at the time.

1857

Lincoln had represented the Illinois Central Railroad in some very important litigation, and had asked a fee of five thousand dollars for his services, a large sum in those days in western courts. The sixteenth of January found him writing and mailing an affidavit to take certain depositions for the purpose of substantiating that fee.⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that these names are given: S. T. Logan of Springfield (his former law partner); Norman H. Purple of Peoria; Archibald Williams and Orville H. Browning, both of Quincy; and *three from Chicago*, — Norman B. Judd, Isaac N. Arnold, and Grant Goodrich. Lincoln was finally paid his fee, or the forty-eight hundred dollars that remained unpaid, and three Chicago friends helped to prove his worth.

On February twelfth, Lincoln had written some lawyers in Paris (Ill.), that he was uncertain as to whether or not he still represented the Illinois Central Railroad.⁶⁵ It is

⁶³*Ibid.*, 154.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 159.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 163.

supposed that from February twenty-second to the twenty-eighth he was in Chicago in conference on that employment. If he arrived in time, he may have seen the great parade for Washington's birthday on the twenty-second.⁶⁶ The Republicans were holding primary rallies all over the town,⁶⁷ and, out of interest, Lincoln may have "looked in" on one of them. North's Amphitheatre, at Monroe and Wells streets, was advertising "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and "Pongo — the Intelligent Ape."⁶⁸ It is reliably supposed that during this visit Mr. Lincoln went to the studio of Alexander Hesler, in Room 22, Metropolitan Block, at the northwest corner of La Salle and Randolph streets, at the present site of the Burnham Building, and there sat for his photograph.⁶⁹ The picture shows his hair mussed; and his clothes are the conventional "dress style" of the day, with wing collar, black bow tie, white shirt, low vest, and coat with satin collar; — a semi-profile. With Warren,⁷⁰ we agree that this is the *first* Hesler photograph.

Chicago was not shut off from "downstate" in those days, and the twenty-eighth found Lincoln giving the principal address at a Republican meeting held in Metropolitan Hall to ratify local nominations, John Wentworth following him, and Frank Lombard singing one of his popular songs.⁷¹

The twenty-first of May, again saw Lincoln in Chicago, the nature of his visit being unknown.⁷² At this time the Chicago Theatre, then on the present site of the McVicker's Theatre, on Madison street, between Dearborn

⁶⁶*Daily Democratic Press*, Feb. 24, 1857.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹Frederick H. Meserve, *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln* (1911). The photograph in question is Meserve No. 6.

⁷⁰In *Lincoln Lore*, No. 116.

⁷¹*Daily Democratic Press*, March 3, 1857.

⁷²Angle, 177.

and State streets, was advertising Miss J. M. Davenport in "Romeo and Juliet"; while the National Theatre (North's) was offering J. W. Wallack, Jr., in "Richard the Third."⁷³ The *Chicago Daily Journal* noted that "Honorable A. Lincoln, the successor of Stephen A. Douglas in the United States Senate, was in town yesterday."⁷⁴ Was this a hope or a promise?

Two cases in the federal court brought Lincoln to Chicago on the seventh of July, — the Rock Island Bridge case, and Peter S. Hoes *vs.* James Barclay.⁷⁵ The first involved the ramming of the Mississippi River bridge of the railroad by the steamer *Effie Afton*, in which the boat caught fire and her owners sued, Judd, the road's general counsel employing Lincoln for the defense. This case went over to September. The other case was one of ejectment in which Lincoln and Logan were defending and which, on the seventeenth, was lost.

While in town, these "downstaters" were desirous of seeing something of the city. On the seventh, they were all together at the Tremont House, — O. M. Hatch, Jesse K. DuBois, Trumbull, Lincoln, and others.⁷⁶ Next evening, Browning and Lincoln went to North's Amphitheatre where they saw William E. Burton in "Toodles." The Quincy lawyer thought "his acting very fine — that it does not appear like acting at all — he is the finest comedian I have ever seen." The weather was hot, but Sunday morning found the courtly Browning in a pew in the Second Presbyterian Church, where he heard "Dr. Rice preach an excellent sermon." If Lincoln accompanied him, no mention is made of it. Thunder showers followed in the evening which probably forced Browning to join Lincoln's "story-swapping-crowd" at the hotel. On

⁷³*Daily Democratic Press*, May 21, 1857.

⁷⁴May 22, 1857.

⁷⁵Angle, 184.

⁷⁶*Chicago Daily Democrat*, July 7, 1857.

Monday evening, the two again went to North's where they saw Burton as Captain Tuttle in "Dombey & Son." This, Browning thought "very admirable" — that "Mrs. Burton did Susan Nipper — the black-eyed one very well. . . ." ⁷⁷

Talking to Judge McLean, Browning found that the judge was despondent about the future of the country — "thinks Greeley, Chase of New York, and all of that class of Republicans are extreme in their views, politically dishonest and unsafe. — Thinks the same thing of pro-slavery Democrats." Lincoln left Chicago on Saturday, the eighteenth; and two days later, on Monday, Douglas took Browning to the studio of Leonard Volk, the sculptor, where he showed him the model of a bust that he was making of the Little Giant, which the Quincy lawyer thought "a very superior thing — decidedly a work of genius." ⁷⁸

On September first, Lincoln arrived in Chicago for his longest stay — twenty-four days — on the matter of the Effie Afton case. ⁷⁹ Hurd, the owner of the boat, had employed H. M. Wead, T. D. Lincoln of Cincinnati, and Corydon Beckwith; while Lincoln was flanked by Judd and Joseph Knox. The case came to trial on the eighth and lasted until the twenty-fourth, when Lincoln achieved a tactical victory because the jury disagreed. But it was considered important enough to carry items daily in the newspapers, the Chicago *Daily Press* using Robert Hitt as reporter, and running the details of the trial down to the very affidavits which were read. Hitt was later to attain fame as the reporter of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and to climb political heights as well. While in

⁷⁷*Browning Diary*, I, 293-95.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 295.

⁷⁹Angle, 192.

town, Lincoln acted in the matter of *Handsby vs. Logan*, confessing judgment for \$895.21.⁸⁰

Angle,⁸¹ directed by two letters written by Lincoln, puts it down that Lincoln was in Chicago from Saturday, November twenty-eighth, to the third or fourth of December, "for a case to begin December first." The records of the federal courts for the Northern District having been destroyed by the Chicago fire, we have few sources upon which to depend, and in this instance the memory of contemporaries offers nothing. A search of the newspapers of the day gives no item confirming Lincoln's presence in the city for that period, although both the *Chicago Press* and the *Chicago Daily Democrat* noted that William Kellogg, Congressman from Peoria, was in town. Indeed, the first-named paper gives a list of those present at the Tremont House, including Kellogg, Ex-Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts, and the directors of the Michigan Southern Railroad — but no Lincoln.

The federal court was then being held over the Saloon Building, at the southwest corner of Lake and Clark streets,⁸² and if Lincoln was planning on his Christmas shopping, he could see the window displays in the stores on Lake street, the then retail district of Chicago.⁸³ Theatres were daily offering their wares in the newspapers: McFarland's (formerly the Chicago) showing a comedy; McVicker's — Neafie in "Hamlet," and North's — "The Forty Thieves."

Why did the politicians invariably put up at the Tremont? The Chicago directories show that, prior to 1860, this was the home of John Wentworth. Whitney stated that "the Tremont House was the mecca in those

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 193.

⁸¹*Lincoln: 1854-1861*, 204.

⁸²*Cook's Chicago Directory*, 1857-58.

⁸³*Kirkland, Chicago Yesterdays*, 43.

days; and thither, all political pilgrims came . . . Douglas . . . in his brief and transitory visits to Chicago . . . stopped at the Tremont, as did Lincoln precisely.”⁸⁴

Back to Springfield went Lincoln, but whether he won or lost his case we cannot tell, nor what he saw and did.

1858

February eighteenth, 1858, saw Abraham Lincoln, potential candidate for the seat of Douglas in the Senate, up in Chicago talking over the situation with the “master of politics,” N. B. Judd, who had recently returned from Washington where he had seen Douglas.⁸⁵ Judd thought that individual “dead, gloomy, miserable — knew that he was lost.” But Lincoln was not so easily deceived, — he knew that although Buchanan and the administration crowd were fighting the Senator, he was “the hardest man to beat.” The Springfield lawyer wanted that the Republicans should take no sides in that fight — he preferred a three-cornered battle. Both men had the real measure of each other. It was to be a battle of the giants — with no quarter.

Newspapers offer no assistance on this visit.

On April twenty-first, the Illinois Democrats met in convention at Springfield, nominated a state ticket, and endorsed Stephen A. Douglas of Chicago.⁸⁶ On June ninth, bolters from that body met, and, after nominating a state ticket, adopted a resolution condemning the Little Giant. The last group was being directed by Ex-Governor John Reynolds and urged on by President Buchanan and the national administration, and depended, for its strength, on Cook County and the northern counties of the state where anti-slavery feeling made Douglas undesirable as

⁸⁴Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, 461.

⁸⁵Angle, 216.

⁸⁶*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Sparks edition), 28.

a candidate.⁸⁷ Buchanan hoped to defeat Douglas, and the bolters hoped to bring into their fold the former anti-Nebraskaites. If it was to be a choice between Douglas and the Republicans, they preferred the latter.

Lincoln did not want the issue to be befogged, nor did he want swaps and deals. Hence, the first of June found him writing to Charles L. Wilson of the *Chicago Journal*:
 " no combinations " ⁸⁸

On the sixteenth of July, at Springfield, the Illinois Republicans met in convention, and Chicago was the strength of that meeting.⁸⁹ Lincoln was somewhat apprehensive for it had been rumored that he was only a "stalking horse" and that John Wentworth of Chicago or some other former Democrat would finally be nominated, as was the case in 1854.⁹⁰ Two resolutions were finally introduced: one by B. C. Cook of Ottawa, endorsing the course of Lyman Trumbull; and one by Charles L. Wilson of Chicago, which stated: "Resolved: that Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as successor of Stephen A. Douglas."⁹¹ Judd and Arnold made speeches endorsing Lincoln and Judd's speech must have made Herndon raise an eyebrow. The great banner told where Chicago stood: "COOK COUNTY FOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR." Lincoln must have been glad for the days that he had spent in that city and for the friends that he had made there. And so, cheerfully, he gave them all the best that he had in his "House Divided Speech."

Chicago's vote meant much to his chances for election, and the twenty-fifth of June had found him writing to

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 48.

⁸⁸*Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1894), I, 238.

⁸⁹*Debates* (Sparks ed.), 24.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁹¹*Illinois State Journal*, June 16, 1858.

Joseph Medill of the *Tribune* an elaborate denial of the charge that, while in Congress, he had refused to vote for supplies for soldiers in the Mexican War.⁹²

The opening gun of the great campaign of 1858 was fired in Chicago. Browning was there, being "fairly well settled at the Briggs House, in Room 9." This hotel was then located on the northeast corner of Wells (sometimes called Fifth Avenue) and Randolph streets.⁹³ Lincoln arrived on July ninth, the very day set for the arrival of Douglas. The local Democrats gave the Little Giant a great welcome, escorting him in from Michigan City. At the Tremont House, to the booming of cannon, Douglas spoke for over an hour to a crowd of thirty thousand people.⁹⁴ Lincoln, present, heard himself referred to as a "kind, amiable, high-minded gentleman, a good citizen, and an honorable opponent."⁹⁵ The fight was starting off tame enough.

The following evening, Saturday the tenth, Lincoln spoke from the same balcony to a crowd not so large but more enthusiastic.⁹⁶ Eastern papers began to take notice. The Little Giant girded for battle against Trumbull and Lincoln, the best debaters afforded by the Republicans in the West, and probably only equalled by Seward in the East.⁹⁷

The Republican candidate stayed in Chicago until the fourteenth, a matter of six days,⁹⁸ having tea, on the twelfth, with Browning, at the home of Gurdon S. Hubbard, one of the most picturesque figures of the

⁹²Nicolay & Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), III, 17.

⁹³*Cook's Chicago Directory*, 1858.

⁹⁴*Illinois State Register*, July 12, 1858.

⁹⁵*Chicago Daily Democrat*, July 10, 1858.

⁹⁶*Chicago Press & Tribune*, July 12, 1858.

⁹⁷*Debates* (Sparks ed.), 48.

⁹⁸Angle, 236-37.

old West, by now the great packer of the town, living at 57 Indiana Avenue.

Lincoln was back in town from the twenty-second of July to the twenty-fourth,⁹⁹ probably consulting party leaders. On the last day, he challenged Douglas to a series of debates to take place in the seven Congressional districts in which they had not already spoken.¹⁰⁰ Thus the Lincoln-Douglas debates came into being in Chicago. The wily Springfield politician did not propose that Trumbull should monopolize the attention of Douglas.

Two pictures, we think, were made of Mr. Lincoln, in Chicago, during the year 1858. Louis A. Warren thinks that the one which he entitles "The Controversal Lincoln" (Meserve No. 8) was taken about the time that he challenged Douglas, which seems likely.¹⁰¹ This picture is generally attributed to S. M. Fassett, then a partner of Cook, with a shop at 131 Lake Street.¹⁰² The second is a photograph of Lincoln showing him with a copy of the *Press and Tribune* in his hands, attributed to Charles Hesler. Frederick H. Meserve and William E. Barton place it in 1854,¹⁰³ the last named putting the time as April, the date of the "caucus." We thought that the face looked older than the one taken in 1857 (Meserve No. 6) and a consultation of the newspaper files confirmed our suspicion. The *Chicago Press* and the *Chicago Tribune* did not consolidate until July 2, 1858, and the word "Press" was dropped in 1861, so that the photograph must have been taken between those dates! But when? We think that it was taken at a time when that newspaper was writing something special for Lincoln, like

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁰⁰*Debates* (Sparks ed.), 69.

¹⁰¹*Lincoln Lore*, No. 119.

¹⁰²*Cook's Chicago Directory*, 1858.

¹⁰³Meserve, No. 3; Barton, *The Influence of Chicago Upon Abraham Lincoln*, 16.

the time of the debates, or the presidential campaign, and a study of the face puts it as 1858. There we rest.

Chicago was definitely a part of the debates, its newspaper sheets fairly burning with the details. Four of the official reporters were from Chicago: Horace White, Robert Hitt, Henry Binmore, and James B. Sheridan. At Ottawa, on Saturday afternoon, August twenty-second, was held the first debate. Crowds were present from Chicago, taking advantage of the special rates offered by the railroad for this trip of about eighty miles. The second meeting took place at Freeport, on Friday, August twenty-seventh, and again Chicago crowds listened, lured on by the sixty-percent rate of the railroads. Joe Medill and Deacon William Bross were present, the latter taking notes because Hitt was late. The third debate, at Jonesboro, was too far from Chicago for an attendance. The fourth was held at Charleston, on September eighteenth, and one of the speakers for Douglas was Mr. R. T. Merrick of Chicago, whom the *Press and Tribune* likened to a "spread eagle."¹⁰⁴ The fifth took place at Galesburg on the seventh of October, and brought in a train load of eleven cars from Chicago, on a special train, — fare, six dollars.¹⁰⁵

The twenty-eighth of October found Lincoln in Chicago, at the Tremont, on his way from Vermont (Illinois) to Petersburg. The Chicago *Democrat* thought that Lincoln's personal habits of temperance were giving him the edge over Douglas.¹⁰⁶

About a week before the election T. Lyle Dickey released a letter from Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, in which he urged all old line Whigs to support Douglas in his fight on the administration. The

¹⁰⁴Sept. 21, 1858.

¹⁰⁵For the circumstances and pageantry of the debates, see newspaper accounts in the Sparks edition of the debates.

¹⁰⁶Oct. 29, 1858.

Douglas newspapers of Chicago played this angle up strong, and Lincoln was greatly worried over its possible effect. The *Tribune*,¹⁰⁷ however, sought to minimize its effect, and judging from the result of the election, did some very good work.

On Tuesday, November second, occurred the long-awaited election; and despite the hard work of the Republicans, the popularity of Lincoln, and the great issues at stake, returns soon indicated that although the Republican candidate had received the popular vote, legislative districts had been so apportioned that Douglas would be elected by a vote of 54 to 46. Despite the fact that Douglas claimed Chicago as his home, the city and county gave Lincoln the victory by electing to the legislature such Republicans as Van H. Higgins, Samuel L. Baker, Ebenezer Peck, and Casper Butz. Judd, of course, was holding over in the Senate. In 1854, Chicago had given Miller (Whig) 2,298 votes to 852 for Moore (Dem.), for the State Treasurership; while in 1856 it had given Fremont (Rep.) 6,347 to 4,913 for Buchanan (Dem.) for the Presidency, and Miller (Rep.) 9,347 to 5,681 for Moore (Dem.) for the State Treasurership. Thus Chicago in 1854 had gone Whig, and Republican in 1856 and 1858.¹⁰⁸

1859

On January sixth, 1859, in joint session of the legislature, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the seat of Douglas in the United States Senate by Norman Buell Judd of Chicago,¹⁰⁹ and by now Herndon should have forgiven him. Lincoln saw the five votes of Cook County go to his column, but it was not enough, for Douglas won, as was expected, by a vote of 54 to 46. Poor

¹⁰⁷Oct. 26, 27, 1858.

¹⁰⁸Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 840.

¹⁰⁹*House Journal*, 1859, p. 32.

Lincoln! How many times, in those very halls, had he seen victory almost within his grasp — for the Speakership and the Senate — only to taste the bitterness of defeat! “But that would pass.” Never mind, he had made a glorious race, the next presidential campaign was not far off, and already Douglas was being “touted” for the office.

On February twenty-seventh, Lincoln was in town in the matter of Haines *vs.* Talcott, staying until the second of March.¹¹⁰ He may have noticed that George M. Pullman was expected in town from New York, and that he had contracted to raise the Matteson House, the largest job of its kind ever performed in Chicago.¹¹¹ Pullman was later to invent the sleeper, found the car company which bears his name, employ negroes as porters, and make Lincoln's son, Robert, an official in his enterprise. But in 1859, he was a young engineer. McVicker's Theatre was offering “Strakosch's Italian Opera,” and municipal elections filled the newspapers. Word was sent to Lincoln of the illness of Tad,¹¹² which probably cut his visit short. Yet the evening of the first of March found him at the headquarters of the Chicago Republicans, helping them to celebrate their recent victory in the municipal elections, where he, Leonard Swett, and A. W. Mack made addresses.¹¹³ The Springfield lawyer was, by now, fifty years of age, a lawyer of some note, and the leader of the Republicans of Illinois. Browning¹¹⁴ and a few others did not admit his leadership to themselves, but Mr. Lincoln was in no doubt as to the esteem in which

¹¹⁰Angle, 270.

¹¹¹*Press & Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1859.

¹¹²Angle, 270.

¹¹³*Press & Tribune*, March 3, 1859.

¹¹⁴Browning, as revealed in his diary, did not hold Lincoln or his public utterances in great esteem in 1854, 1856 and 1858. When Lincoln was in the White House, the Quincy lawyer still thought him his inferior. The two men were close friends, too close, perhaps, for Browning to have evaluated Lincoln truly.

he was held in Chicago — he was his party's idol. And so he hurried home to Springfield and Tad.

Lincoln was in Chicago again from June third to eighth, accompanied by Tad, the latter writing that "this town is a very beautiful place."¹¹⁵ The mayor, councilmen, judges, and citizens (to the number of five hundred and thirty-four), had all gone off to Cincinnati on an excursion; but Archie Williams and Norman H. Purple were in town on "court business."¹¹⁶ Governor Wells of Maine, was at the Briggs House; and Lincoln's "house-mate" was Steve Douglas himself, the *Press and Tribune* noting: "Both Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Senator Douglas are in town, stopping at the Tremont."¹¹⁷ Very likely Lincoln took Tad to see the sights of the town, and they may have "looked in" at the Metropolitan Hall where were performing the Chinese Jugglers.

Mr. Lincoln and his family were in Chicago on July nineteenth, the following item appearing in the *Tribune*:

Assessment of the Illinois Central Railroad

It is the duty of the Auditor of Public Accounts to annually assess for taxation the Illinois Central Railroad. In pursuance of that duty Col. DuBois, accompanied by Hon. and Mrs. Hulit, Secretary of State, Hon. A. Lincoln, W. H. Butler, Esq., T. H. Campbell, late auditor, Hon. S. T. Logan, together with several ladies was in this city yesterday enroute from Dunleith to Cairo. The car and locomotive were put at the disposal of the party at Springfield and they are making a pleasant but rather warm trip. They left for Cairo last evening.

What a lark—Lincoln, Bill Butler (his old landlord), and Logan (his second partner), as well as "Uncle Jesse"

¹¹⁵Angle, 283-84.

¹¹⁶*Daily Democrat*, June 2; *Press & Tribune*, June 3, 1859.

¹¹⁷*Press & Tribune*, June 7, 8, 1859.

Dubois (Lincoln's old friend of legislative days), all on a vacation together!

On September twenty-eighth, Lincoln passed through Chicago on his way to speaking engagements in Wisconsin. The *Tribune* gave him the following note:

Old Abe

Hon. Abe Lincoln passed through this city yesterday enroute for Milwaukee where he is to deliver the annual address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society. We captured the manuscript and shall print the address in the Press and Tribune tomorrow.

On October third he was in town on his way back to the circuit, stopping at the Tremont House, the *Democrat* noting: "Hon. A. Lincoln of Springfield; Gov. Bingham of Michigan; Capt. S. Champlain of U. S. Navy; Rev. H. S. Speakman; Dr. C. C. Cooper, Philadelphia; Judge Olson of New Indiana; and Ex-Governor Barstow of Wisconsin are stopping at the Tremont House." The *Tribune* of the twenty-ninth carried Trumbull's recent speech at Sandusky, Ohio, in full; but a later issue carried Lincoln's recent speech in full as promised.¹¹⁸ Did he seek some diversion while in Chicago? If so, McVicker's Theatre was offering "Our Eastern Cousin in Chicago," a play full of fun if the newspapers may be relied upon.

Lincoln was back in town on November tenth and eleventh, where he obtained a quitclaim deed to certain real estate in Council Bluffs, Iowa, from the Judds, the *Tribune*¹¹⁹ noting: "Hon. Abraham Lincoln is on a short visit to this city. He is stopping at the Tremont House." Reading the newspapers of the eleventh, he noted that thirteen northern and eastern states had gone Republican. The tenth was the birthday of Friedrich Schiller, and its

¹¹⁸Oct. 1, 1859.

¹¹⁹Nov. 10, 1859.

one hundredth anniversary was being celebrated in Chicago. The illness of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, in Washington, from inflammatory rheumatism, was noted.¹²⁰ If theatres attracted him, McVicker's was showing: "The Marble Heart, or The Sculptor's Dream," which may have reminded him of Volk, who, two weeks before had completed his bust of Douglas. Lincoln had much to see, to read, and to think about.

1860

By December of 1859, everyone in Illinois knew that Abraham Lincoln was a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. Indeed, at that time Joe Medill of the Chicago *Tribune* was down in Washington trying to "sell" Mr. Lincoln to members of Congress.¹²¹ What Lincoln thought of his own chances is worthy of surmise, but on February ninth, he was writing to Judd of Chicago that while it would not hurt him to miss the national nomination it would be harmful if he should not get the Illinois delegation, adding: "Can you not help me a little in this matter?"¹²² Judd could and would, although he was busy enough trying to secure the nomination for the Governorship himself.

On March twenty-second, the Bissell funeral behind him, to Chicago came fifty-one year old Abraham Lincoln, bent on trying one of his most important lawsuits, and accompanied by twenty-nine year old Henry C. Whitney of Urbana.¹²³ The case was entitled *Johnson vs. Jones and Marsh*, commonly referred to as the Sand Bar Case, although there were really four sand bar cases. Lincoln, Fuller, Higgins, and Van Arman represented the defense,

¹²⁰*Daily Democrat*, Nov. 10, 1859.

¹²¹Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, II, 133.

¹²²Angle, 319.

¹²³Whitney, 53.

being pitted against Morris, Arnold, and Wills for the plaintiff.¹²⁴

The very day of Lincoln's arrival, the *Tribune* was advertising Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech as a campaign document; was stating the platform of Bates; and was re-hashing the Lincoln-Douglas debates. This same paper noted: "Hon. Abraham Lincoln is in this city as counsel in a very important suit before the United States District Court," then being held in the Larmon Block, at the northeast corner of Clark and Washington streets. This was the third time that the issues in this case were to be tried, and Lincoln's employment may have been an effort at finality. Articles were being quoted, in the dailies, to show that Lincoln was the desirable presidential candidate.¹²⁵ Hotel rates, for the coming Republican convention, were shown as ranging from a dollar to a dollar and a half in some forty-seven hotels.¹²⁶ And although the convention was more than a month off, if he chose Lincoln could have talked to some of the delegates who were already in town. Chicago was busy with its plans, and eager to push the claims of Lincoln. Judd, the busy boss, must have consulted his candidate during this stay.

Whitney states that he and Lincoln went to the Metropolitan where they saw Rumsey and Newcomb's minstrels, which appealed to Lincoln greatly.¹²⁷ His memory is at fault for the only minstrels in Chicago for March or April of 1860 were Hooley and Campbell's, whose very advertising looks interesting.¹²⁸ The *Tribune*, in its issue of the twenty-ninth, under "Sundry Matters," stated: "L. W. Volk at his studio in the Portland Block . . . is

¹²⁴Chicago *Daily Journal*, Mar. 26, 1860.

¹²⁵*Press & Tribune*, Mar. 28, 1860.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, Mar. 30, 1860.

¹²⁷Whitney, 53.

¹²⁸*Press & Tribune*, Mar. 27, 1860.

now at work on a bust of Hon. Abraham Lincoln." Whitney relates that they went to the Richmond House and called upon General Schenck. Between court sessions, conferences with lawyers, and political gatherings Lincoln's days must have been busy—and nights as well.

On the evening of April second he addressed a gathering at Waukegan.¹²⁹ Little Evanston, formerly Evanstown, was host to the candidate.¹³⁰ During this visit the judge and lawyers in the Sand Bar Case were all guests at the home of I. N. Arnold, who then lived at Fullerton and Clark streets.¹³¹

After a trial which lasted eleven days, the jury deliberated five hours, and then brought in a verdict for Lincoln's clients, the defendants.¹³² Home to Springfield went Lincoln on the fourth of April, happy and hopeful. Chicago seemed confident of his nomination. Maybe his chances were good.

The Illinois Republican State Convention convened at Decatur on May ninth, and the *Tribune*¹³³ stated that "everybody was for Lincoln." Swett failed to show up on time, Judd was defeated, and Yates was nominated for Governor. No matter—Judd was for Lincoln. The convention itself adopted Lincoln, the railsplitter, as its candidate for President; and that individual sat by and saw Browning (who was for Bates) and Judd (whom Hernon suspected) named as delegates-at-large. No matter, Koerner and Davis were on the slate. Nothing much could happen.

Thereafter, the *Tribune* blazed Lincoln's name on every issue, reminding the town and state that he was "The Winning Man." Gathering at the same time as the con-

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, Apr. 2, 1860.

¹³⁰J. Seymour Currey, *Abraham Lincoln's Visit to Evanston, Illinois, in 1860*.

¹³¹Arnold, *Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar of Forty Years Ago*, 23.

¹³²*Press & Tribune*, Apr. 5, 1860.

¹³³*Ibid.*, May 9, 1860.

vention, was the National Convention of German Turners, whose gathering was held at the southeast corner of Indiana and Welles streets.¹³⁴ This group, with delegates from all over the North and East, was kept in tow for Lincoln by Koerner, Hecker, Theodore Canisius, and George Schneider, the editor of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* of Chicago. Its influence for Lincoln cannot be measured.

The convention itself, meeting in the Wigwam, at the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets, was opened on May sixteenth, and, from that very moment, the Chicago crowds let the delegates know whom they considered the logical candidate—"Lincoln!" Judd was the "fox of the pack" albeit that pack contained the shrewdest politicians to be found anywhere. On Friday, the eighteenth, the hall was packed by citizens of Chicago in possession of tickets wisely printed by Ward Hill Lamon. When Judd placed Lincoln in nomination the roar was deafening. The third ballot showed Lincoln the winner. Chicago was gleeful and celebrations followed. The choice of Chicago as the convention city perhaps gave Mr. Lincoln that nomination. Certainly it was a great factor.

From that day until election day, the *Tribune* glorified Lincoln and bitterly attacked Douglas and the Democrats of every description. November sixth was a day of riots in Chicago. But the *Tribune*, next day, gleefully announced in captions large: "THE GREAT VICTORY. REPUBLICANS TRIUMPHANT OVER FRAUD, FUSION, COTTON, DISUNION, & TREASON. HONEST OLD ABE ELECTED. CARRIED CHICAGO BY 4500." He actually carried Cook County by a vote of 14,589 to 9,946.¹³⁵ And Lincoln lost Sangamon!

¹³⁴F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutesches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1928.

¹³⁵*Press & Tribune*, Nov. 10, 1860.

On November twenty-first, President-elect Abraham Lincoln and his wife arrived in Chicago, going to the Tremont where his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, awaited him.¹³⁶ Next day the party visited around the city, looking at the Wigwam—soon to be torn down—the new post office, customs house, and United States Court Building.¹³⁷ A public reception followed on the twenty-third, lasting from morning until noon, when Lincoln, Hamlin, and Trumbull went off to dine together.¹³⁸ The new mayor of Chicago, Julian S. Rumsey, secured Lincoln's autograph for his son George.

The visit of Lincoln and Hamlin attracted great attention, yet Lincoln must have chuckled to see that he was sharing honors in the newspapers with the famous Burch divorce case, then being tried at Naperville. Here his old friend Browning was "measuring himself with Lord Brougham in the defense of Queen Caroline" in his own defense of Mrs. Burch.

On Sunday morning, November twenty-fifth, Mr. Lincoln, with I. N. Arnold, attended St. James Church; while in the afternoon he made a brief talk at the Mission Sabbath School, then being held in North Market Hall, the moving spirit of which was Dwight L. Moody.¹³⁹ The following morning, Monday, the twenty-sixth, at nine o'clock, the Lincolns left Chicago in a drizzly rain, the last time the city was to see Mr. Lincoln alive.

Chicago, in 1860, had a population of 109,263;¹⁴⁰ and its rise and growth had been somewhat parallel with that of Lincoln. Riding back to Springfield, he must have had happy memories of the city. It had been the stronghold of Whiggery, and was then the center of Republi-

¹³⁶*Chicago Daily Journal*, Nov. 22, 1860.

¹³⁷Angle, 360.

¹³⁸*Press & Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1860.

¹³⁹*Daily Journal*, Nov. 26, 1860.

¹⁴⁰Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 52.

canism. Here he had received his nomination—and he had carried the city in 1860, and was to carry it again in 1864. Newspapers of Chicago had always been friendly towards him, and had usually welcomed his every visit. Here he had friends of many years standing: Ebenezer Peck, of twenty-two years, whom he had met in Vandalia in 1838; Gurdon S. Hubbard of twenty-six years, whom he had met in 1834 at the capital; David Hunter of twenty years whom he had met in Springfield in 1840; J. Young Scammon of twenty-one years whom he had met in 1839 in Springfield, as the reporter of the Illinois Supreme Court; John Wentworth of at least thirteen years dating back to their service in Congress together in 1847; Grant Goodrich of at least twelve years; Isaac N. Arnold of eighteen years when, in 1842, he had come to the legislature; Robert S. Blackwell of twenty-six years dating back to 1834 in Vandalia; Norman B. Judd of at least twelve years, for Judd went to the State Senate in 1844; Joe Medill and Deacon Bross of four close years; and Judge Thomas Drummond of twenty years dating to 1840 when they served in the legislature together. The Judge had been Lincoln's neighbor from 1850 to 1855, while sitting in Springfield. In Chicago he had met the dashing young Elmer Ellsworth who was so attracted to Lincoln that he moved to Springfield to study law in his office. All these men had made sacrifices, political and personal, to be of assistance to Mr. Lincoln. They had opened to him their hearts and homes. And so, going off to Washington, he took some of them with him—Hunter, Ellsworth, Peck, and Judd.

Even at the inauguration Chicago was present, for Stephen Arnold Douglas, still the Little Giant, held Lincoln's hat during the ceremonies, something that makes one love the man always. Arnold, too, was there, a member of Congress. Once in office, Lincoln made Hunter

a general; Peck, a judge; and Judd an ambassador. The first man to be killed in the Civil War was gallant young Ellsworth, still fascinated by Lincoln.

The old landmarks that Lincoln knew are gone, most of them destroyed by the great fire. But the sites still remain, most of them unmarked. The town he knew of wooden sidewalks and gas lamps has passed, just as the town of Springfield that he knew has vanished. In a sense, from 1849 to 1860, Chicago was a sort of home to Lincoln, for he made it at least twenty-three visits in that time, staying about a hundred and fifty days. With the exception of his three homes in Illinois, the old capital at Vandalia, and a half dozen towns on the old Eighth Judicial Circuit, Lincoln actually spent more time in Chicago than in any other town or city in Illinois. And, just as the history of Illinois is wrapped up in Lincoln, so the story of Chicago is woven around his name.

The places that he knew and loved are passed and gone, but the things that he loved about Chicago still remain—its theatres, surging crowds of people in the streets, the air of excitement, continued growth, teeming business, courts, lawyers, politicians, the lake, railroads, friendly newspapers, and a kindly welcome for everybody. And walking down its crowded streets, if you have a little imagination, you can picture Mr. Lincoln, swinging along, with his canvas bag in one hand, his silk hat atop his head, eyes peering out, friendly like, from beneath shaggy eyebrows, long linen duster fluttering in the breeze, and old cowhide boots tramping the streets. You've guessed it. He's heading for the Tremont. Judd, Goodrich, Scammon, and a crowd will be there waiting for his arrival. What a peal of laughter they'll send up at his latest story!

Chicago influenced Mr. Lincoln, and he cast a spell upon the town.

THE PRAIRIE HEN

Together with a Sketch of its Editor, E. S. Ingalls

By

PHILIP D. JORDAN

When the existence of a single issue of *The Prairie Hen*, a newspaper published at Albion in 1844, was first reported,¹ the paper was unknown to the newspaper historians and bibliographers of Illinois (never having been listed or described by them) and therefore furnished a problem for solution. The purpose of this article is to set forth a genealogy of this curious weekly whose full title was really *The Prairie Hen, Jericho Jingle, Land of Nod Loop-Hole, and Antioch Pill* and of its then unknown but soon-to-be-prominent editor, Eleazer Stillman Ingalls.²

Eleazer Stillman Ingalls was a boy of only twenty-four years when he began publication of the four page, quarto, weekly newspaper, *The Prairie Hen*, which sold for \$1.50 per annum and hailed from Apostleville, was printed at the cooper's shop in Jericho, and was dated Albion, Bristol Precinct, Lake County, Illinois. The specimen now in possession of the Illinois State Historical Society

¹*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1933, p. 17.

²I am indebted to Miss Lydia Colby, Geneseo, for information concerning the Ingalls family, and to Mr. Meredith P. Sawyer, a grandson of E. S. Ingalls, of Menominee, Mich., for the use of a mimeographed copy of his grandfather's diary. In addition, the following persons gave generously of their time and knowledge: Mr. Otis G. Hammond, director of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Miss Adele Rathbun, of the reference department of the Chicago Historical Society; and Mr. Joseph Gavit, senior librarian, of the New York State Library. The careful scholarship of my wife, as usual, has been of great assistance.

and dated November 2, 1844, in my judgment, is the first issue printed by Ingalls. How many subsequent numbers appeared is difficult to determine, our only evidence being the none-too-trustworthy testimony of John W. Moore who wrote: "After issuing several numbers of the paper, a 'nest' with more 'golden eggs' in it was tendered him, which he accepted, and left the Hen to 'scratch for herself.'"³ It is well-known, however, that, although Ingalls had received early training as a blacksmith, he studied law during his early years in Illinois and opened an office in Antioch before 1849. It is conceivable that he was referring to his law practice as the "nest with more golden eggs."

Ingalls was born in Nashua, New Hampshire, June 10, 1820, the son of Eleazer F. Ingalls, an edge-tool maker, and of Amy Pearson Ingalls.⁴ He learned blacksmithing as a boy. In the winter of 1836, Ingalls, in conjunction with a boyhood friend, Charles F. Livingston,⁵ made a small bed-and-platin press, cap size in the shop of Ingall's father. The work was done in the evening, Ingalls giving his attention to the ironwork and Livingston to the woodwork. Before the press could be put into operation the senior Ingalls decided to move westward with his family, and this small press went to Illinois with them. It is not improbable that *The Prairie Hen* was printed by Ingalls upon this press. Ingalls, together with his father, his uncle, Loami Pearson, and Charles McClellan entered Illinois in the spring of 1838, at a small village called Thornton and then, passing through Joliet and Naperville, struck the Fox River at St. Charles and traveled up its

³John W. Moore, *Historical Notes on Printers and Printing, 1420-1886*, (Republican Press Association, Concord, N. H., 1886); p. 239.

⁴Charles Burleigh, M. D., *The Genealogy and History of the Ingalls Family in America*, Sec. 2210, pp. 199-200.

⁵Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-338.

west bank to English Prairie in McHenry County.⁶ There the little party made a halt and constructed a small log cabin in the oak which opened to the west of English Prairie, about a mile north of Spring Grove on Nipper-sink Creek. "The country was then new," wrote Mr. Ingalls in 1876, "with here and there a settler from ten to twenty miles apart. The English desired to hold the whole Prairie and the lands adjoining it for settlers of their own people, whom they expected to come and fill them up. Our party thought it not worth while to quarrel over a location of land, we determined to cross the Fox River, and settle on the east side. Crossing the river at Bullin's bridge in Wisconsin, where General Bullin had a tavern, we came down the east side and took up some land in Antioch, where we made a permanent settlement."⁷ On the long trek west the young man had charge of driving the cattle, and many times on their way, especially through Indiana and Illinois, had to cut a road for his charges. When at last he reached Chicago he pastured his cattle over night on the edge of a marsh, where afterwards he sometimes went to attend to legal work at the Chicago Court House.

Arriving at Antioch, the young man went into the blacksmithing business with his father and studied law in his spare moments. It may be that he ran a general store in connection with his printing plant, for in *The Prairie Hen* appeared this notice:

All sorts of fixtures and fixins, and a little of every thing else can be found on our premises. We have only nineteen different branches of domestic industry displayed in our sanctum. We'll not enumerate them, but invite all to come in and see the live lion dance

⁶John J. Halsey (ed.), *A History of Lake County, Illinois*, 1912, *passim*.

⁷Judge E. S. Ingalls to the Secretary of the Old Settlers' Association of Lake County, June 3, 1876, and quoted in Halsey.

with the hippopotamus — the rarest sight to be seen this side of the Indies.

During these early formative prairie years, the young editor seems not to have forgotten the delights which open country always affords the boy. He hunted and fished, going annually with the Winnebagoes into southern Wisconsin and Illinois. So well did he comport himself that, in time, he became blood-brother to Rolling Thunder, and was given the rather indefinite name of Sogonosh — "the white man."⁸

In 1844, the year in which he began publication of *The Prairie Hen*, he was married to Martha M. Pearson. He continued to live in Antioch, busying himself with the law and in the smithy. On February 3, 1846, when a call was sent out for a mass meeting to be held February 17, to organize a Lake County Anti-Slavery Society, he was one of the signers. His great adventure, however, began April 6, 1850, when he joined the mighty horde of fortune-seekers then converging upon the gold fields of California. His diary⁹ shows that he crossed into Iowa from Illinois at Davenport, then angled across the state to Centerville, and on April 24, entered Missouri. Six days later his party arrived at St. Joseph where it outfitted, paying ninety cents a bushel for corn in the ear and \$1.00 for it shelled, prices which prompted Ingalls to write: "St. Joseph is quite a village and doing a great deal of business at this time, but the way they fleece the California emigrants is worth noticing. I should advise all going by the overland route to take everything along with them

⁸Burleigh, *op. cit.*, translates this as "Peace Maker."

⁹This diary was published at Waukegan in 1852. Mention is made of it in H. B. Hulbert's, *The Forty-Niners*, p. 328. I have not seen the published diary, but have used a mimeographed edition, with a preface by Josephine S. Ingalls Sawyer, 1921. The mimeographed title is: *Journal of a Journey to California from Lake County, Illinois, 1850*. Pagination in subsequent references will be to the mimeographed edition.

that they can of small weight, as every little thing costs three or four times as much here as at home. The markets are filled with broken down horses, jockeyed up for the occasion, and unbroken mules which they assure you are handy as sheep. It is the greatest place for gambling and all other rascality that I was ever in."¹⁰ On May 8, Ingalls's party got under way and four days later, on Sunday, reached the Blue River where it found a "large city of tents and preaching." On May 20, the party camped within two miles of Fort Kearny, and on May 26 occurred one of those splits in the caravan so usual in the history of the forty-niners. Ten wagons cut off from the remaining seven and continued on because they believed in traveling seven days a week. Ingalls's wagon was one of the seven electing to travel six days and to rest upon the seventh. On the first of June, he camped in sight of the famous Chimney Rock, landmark and beacon of so many forty-niners, and six days later he bivouacked at Fort Laramie. June 22 found the weary wagons crossing Big Sandy River, having reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains the previous afternoon, and the next day saw Ingalls and his associates crossing the desert. On July 20, the Humboldt, a stream about twenty yards wide and three feet deep, was crossed, and one month later the party was within three miles of Haughtown at the head of the Diggings. Placer mining was either unsatisfactory or uncongenial to Ingalls, for he gave it up in favor of running a general store at Placerville. On September 24, he had received two loads of merchandise and was beginning business, only having completed his roof the night previously. In the first half hour of business he sold one hundred dollars' worth of provisions, all paid for in gold dust.¹¹ He remained in California until 1852 or 1853 —

¹⁰*Journal of a Journey to California from Lake County, Illinois*, p. 7.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 40.

the records differ — when he returned to Antioch by sailing ship to Panama, then across the Isthmus on mules, hence by boat to Jamaica, then to New York, and finally to Illinois by means of the Erie Canal. In 1857, four years after returning from California, he moved to Waukegan where he continued to hold office as associate judge of the Lake County Court. While still a resident of Antioch he was one of the incorporators of the Antioch and Waukegan Plank Road, an enterprise chartered February 12, 1853. In 1852, he had contributed a series of historical sketches on Lake County to the *Waukegan Chronicle*, and in that same year a portion of his California diary was printed.¹²

Ingalls's California journey did not exhaust his desire to explore the West, for in 1858 he, with a party of friends, left Illinois for Pike's Peak. This expedition, however, was poorly planned and insufficiently equipped. The party never reached the peak and almost starved to death on its return to Illinois. Their animals all having died, or been eaten, they finished the return on foot, for "two days having only strips of leather cut from their boots to chew upon."¹³ The two trips west, together with the general depreciation of land values in 1856-1857, led Ingalls, in 1859, to harness his Indian pony, "Cub," to a light buggy and to penetrate Wisconsin as far north as Oconto, beyond which were only Indian trails. However, he loaded his outfit upon a steamer and disembarked at Menekaunee, at the mouth of the Menominee River. Here he set up a blacksmith shop on the Green Bay shore and practiced law or the smith's trade as the occasion demanded. In 1860 or 1861, he returned to Menominee on the Michigan side of the river where a flourishing population was centering about the lumber industry. He

¹²See footnote 9.

¹³*Journal of a Journey to California from Lake County, Illinois*, p. 2.

threw himself into the civic activities of Menominee with great zeal. He was the dominant figure behind the organization of Menominee County¹⁴ and held many offices, including those of probate judge and prosecuting attorney. He assisted in the founding of the first Masonic Society,¹⁵ school,¹⁶ and church of the town, and, says one family biographer, "was actively interested in opening the first mine on the Menominee range at a time when geologists scoffed at the thought of iron in the district."¹⁷ It is said that he also built the first government road north from Menominee to Escanaba, a distance of sixty-five miles.

Although *The Prairie Hen*, I believe, was Ingalls's first journalistic venture, he found time to engage in newspapering upon several subsequent occasions during his life. Early in 1855, he, together with S. I. Bradbury, purchased the Waukegan *Freeman's Advocate* and the *Lake County Chronicle* which they merged into the *Chronicle and Advocate*, a newspaper which continued under this name until late in 1855, when it became the *Independent Democrat*. Upon the suspension of publication at the beginning of 1857, Messrs. Bradbury and Ingalls sold the subscription list to the *Gazette*.¹⁸ In 1863, Mr. Ingalls established *The Menominee Herald*, the first number of which was pulled from the press September 10.¹⁹ In 1871, he wrote and published an imprint entitled *The Iron Mines of Menominee County*,²⁰ a pamphlet of twelve pages, and in 1876, the Menominee

¹⁴*Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan* (Lansing, 1877); Vol. I, pp. 266-267.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁷*Journal of a Journey to California from Lake County, Illinois*, p. 3.

¹⁸See Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, p. 353.

¹⁹*Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 270.

²⁰See F. B. Streeter, *Michigan Bibliography* (Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1921); Vol. I, p. 227, item 2297.

Herald Power Press brought out his seventy-six page *Centennial History of Menominee County*.²¹

Mr. Ingalls's daughter, Josephine S. Ingalls Sawyer, described her father as of "medium stature, large black eyes, straight black hair, his voice unusually soft and modulated."²² He died September 29, 1879. A post office called "Ingalls," and a township called "Ingelston" were named in his honor.²³

This, then, is a brief biographical sketch of the editor of *The Prairie Hen* whose appearance in 1844 must have caused a sensation. The entire paper contained only twelve columns of type, yet the youthful editor made a gallant attempt at variety. Following the editorial custom of his day he filled the entire three columns of page one with a tale, "The Trapper," a narrative of western romance, horror, and revenge. This gory bit of fiction was concluded on the second page and was followed by an exciting incident culled from a "lecture on Genius, delivered by the celebrated Elihu Burritt, the learned Blacksmith."²⁴ The third column of page two was devoted to a biographical sketch of Commander Alexander James Dallas, who will be remembered as a naval hero of the War of 1812, and as commanding the American Squadron in the West Indies in 1835-1838. On page three appeared Ingalls's prospectus, as well as an explanation of the location of the paper. The prospectus follows:

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 227, item 2296.

²²*Journal of a Journey to California from Lake County, Illinois*, p. 3.

²³Burleigh, *op. cit. loc. cit.*

²⁴Elihu Burritt was born in 1811 in New Britain, Conn. Known as the "Learned Blacksmith," he was a nineteenth century linguist, lecturer, and poet of note. His volumes of poetry, *Sparks from the Anvil*, *A Voice from the Forge*, and *Thoughts and Things Home and Abroad*, undoubtedly appealed to Ingalls for their color and descriptions of the smithy with which he was so familiar. See S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (Philadelphia, 1863); Vol. I, p. 304.

TO OUR PARTICULAR FRIENDS — THE PEOPLE
OF THIS PRECINCT: - -

Did you ever know an editor introducing himself to the public, who did not preface his position with something like — “With the present number of our beautiful little sheet we have the honor of making our introductory bow to an enlightened, liberal and philanthropic public”? The probability is that you never did, and never would, had it not been for the prime goose quill which we now wield. We can’t go any such folderol, any more than a donkey can go an engine. We go in for the plain matter-of-fact, common sense, homespun sort of chat — just such as we shall have together these long winter evenings, provided you ask us up to your cabin once a week, and give us something to come on — and so we shall go on and begin back at the commencement.

In the first place, we must tell you that this starting a new paper is quite an undertaking — we tell you this to save trouble. What made us start it? eh? Did you ever know a Yankee to do any thing voluntarily that he didn’t want to? That’s our case to a shade. We was “tuk with the fever” and had to come “out.” In our peregrination we run into this precinct. ’Twas just the place we wanted to find. The location to a charm, and the advantages decided. We tarried long enough to become acquainted with some of the people, spoke to them of our intentions, took their advice, and here we are. How do you like us?

“A short horse is soon curried.” That’s our case. We’ve told our story, and now what will you do for us? We’d like to locate in these diggings, to our advantage, and the interest of those with whom we should become associated. Shall we do it? That’s the talk. If so, let us know it, and we’ll be down among you with “a pocket full of rocks.”

The four titles of *The Prairie Hen* are explained in the following:

OUR LOCATION. We hope our friends will have no trouble in finding where we are located. At the sug-

gestion of those consulted, it was decided to date from each of the four divisions of our pretty and flourishing little village, and devote a page, with an appropriate title, to the interest of each, [for be it known to those out of this precinct that we (of this precinct,) support with all meekness the title of Apostleville; and that we are divided into four sections, with one collective interest, however, bearing the different titles of Jericho, Antioch, Land of Nod, and Sam Patch Last Leap]. It will be seen that our office is at the cooper's shop in Jericho, one of the most business-like places out of New England. In few days we shall "be at home for company", and then — drop in.

The editor, on this page, also inserted the following want-ad:

BOY WANTED. Have any of our friends a small sized, smart boy — say, one knee high to a Dutch bumble-bee — whom they would like to have initiated into the scientific principles of "bossing the devil's tail"? If so, just give us a call — the field of immortal fame is open before somebody — first come, first served, and then the bars will be put up. We want him soon, to break into our place, so that we can go hunt buffalo next season.

The fourth and last page carried Eliza Cook's²⁵ "Song of the Haymakers," and clippings from the *Baltimore Patriot*, the *Richmond Star*, the *Massachusetts Ploughman*, the *Maine Farmer*, and the *Troy Whig*, as well as several five to seven line fillers.

Only two paragraphs, on page three, with the exception of the prospectus quoted above, tell much concerning the plans and ambitions of the youthful editor. The first of these speaks of the paper as "our little bantling," and the second, stating the subscription price, follows:

²⁵Eliza Cook, the daughter of a tradesman near London, was born in 1817. In her twentieth year she gained recognition as a poet. In 1840 a volume of her poems was published in London, and in 1844 was reprinted in America under the title of *Melaia and other Poems*. See Allibone, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 420.

TERMS. The price of our little craft, should we conclude to "keep it before the wind," will be One Dollar and Fifty Cents, regular bona fide chink, or two dollars' worth, large measure, of any kind of fish, flesh, fowl, fruit or vegetables, that can be eat, drank, or converted into sleep or other comforts. We don't need any wheat or onions — the first we have plenty of, and the latter we never put into minced-pies.

It is curious that Ingalls's name does not appear under the masthead, or signed to his humorous prospectus. *The Prairie Hen* nowhere carried definite information concerning its editor and proprietor. We have only the testimony which Moore included in his miscellaneous and useful volume on the American press.²⁸ Although Moore is not always accurate, I have no doubt that he was correct in assigning the editorship of *The Prairie Hen* to Ingalls, and I further believe that he received his information from Charles F. Livingston with whom he was acquainted and who, as we have seen previously, was a boyhood friend of Ingalls's. Ingalls undoubtedly sent copies of his paper to New Hampshire friends. It is safe to assume that Mr. Livingston might have received one or more issues, and subsequently showed them to Moore or quoted from them as we know that he frequently assisted the author of *Historical Notes on Printers and Printing*.

Why Ingalls dated his weekly newspapers from "Albion, Bristol Precinct, Lake County" has proved puzzling, for nowhere in his writings or in sketches concerning him have I been able to find evidence that he ever lived in a community called Albion. On the contrary he states explicitly that, after living in English Prairie, he went to Antioch and there lived, with the exception of his California journey, until he moved to Waukegan. Although there is a town, Albion, in Edwards County, Ingalls makes it perfectly plain that *his* Albion lies in

²⁸See footnote 3.

Lake County, and places it near Antioch. Apparently, Albion, like Apostleville, Jericho, Land of Nod, and Sam Patch Last Leap, was a small settlement, possessing a name only for convenience, and subsequently was absorbed into the present village of Antioch. In this I may be in error, but a careful examination of the few and fragmentary facts now extant leads me to this as the most satisfactory explanation.

BENJAMIN DARNELL, FORT DARNELL, AND EARLY SETTLERS OF MARSHALL COUNTY

By

C. A. DARNELL

During the greater part of the American Revolution the actual fighting was carried on in the North, but with the approach of 1780, the scene of actual conflict was transferred to the South. Charleston was taken from General Lincoln by the stronger forces of Sir Henry Clinton. Soon the victorious British troops had swept across from Charleston, South Carolina, to Savannah, Georgia, and were in possession of Georgia and North and South Carolina.

This territory, but not its resolute people, were subdued. During this campaign in the South the impetuous Tarleton, whose assignment was to spread terror, destruction and death wherever he found those who were not committed to the British cause, was burning, plundering and assassinating. The patriotic people of North and South Carolina could not be won to the Tory cause by any such inhuman persuasion.

Leaders arose throughout the imperiled territory who formed little bands of heroic defenders and who, from every point of advantage and concealment, struck at the destroyers of their homes and their property with such hornet-like persistence that the task of Tarleton and his followers was rendered impossible of achievement.

Especially was this true all along the way from Charleston to Savannah, but more particularly so in the

vicinity of Camden. Moultrie was one of the most successful, as well as one of the most intrepid and conspicuous, of these brave leaders. He had succeeded in collecting under his leadership and command a small force which was thoroughly imbued with an almost superhuman determination not to give up homes and other possessions to ruthless destruction without a stubborn resistance.

It was on August 6, 1780, that this leader with this small band of unorganized patriots met the "Prince of Wales" regiment at Hanging Rock — since memorable in Revolutionary history — in one of the most spectacular minor engagements of the war. He swept aside all resistance and captured not only the British soldiers but a quantity of much needed munitions.

Among the brave soldiers who were at this time fighting to protect their families and save their property and homes from destruction was one Captain John Darnell, who fell mortally wounded and soon expired.

It is not much that we know of this John Darnell on account of the length of time since his lamented death, but there are some things we do know. We know that he was a young man still in his thirties; that he was ambitious and that he had taken steps to provide amply for himself and his young family. Only thirteen months before his death he had entered five hundred acres of land on Fisher Creek in Wilkes County, North Carolina. He received his deed of conveyance to this land on May 25, 1780, two months and eleven days before his death. This deed is signed "by His Excellency's Command," in the handwriting of J. Glasgow, who was then Secretary of State. R. C. Caswell was Governor of the state. This deed, or grant, is recorded in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh, North Carolina, among Land Grants, Book 42, page 72. We also know that he bore the title of Captain,

as is shown by the records in the official custody of the North Carolina Historical Commission, as follows:

The United States of America to The State of North Carolina,

Dr.

For sundries furnished the militia of North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina, as allowed by the auditors of the upper board of Salisbury District as p. Report No. 46.

One item in "Report No. 46" is as follows:

To Captain John Darnell & Company for services as p. Pay Rolls £ 197.-18.-6.

(Report No. 46 is dated June, 1785.)

We also know that he owned personal property, as shown by copy of the inventory filed in the estate of John Darnell to the October term, 1785. This inventory shows that he was the owner of horses, cattle, household furniture, kitchen utensils, a loom and other things which would lend comfort and convenience to his family. There are also listed open accounts with George Sherfield, Thomas Elledge and John Morris, aggregating several pounds sterling. Complete copy of this inventory is now before the writer and was taken from "Wilkes County Court Minutes," 1778-1799, Page 170. The original is now in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

From this inventory, signed "Rachel Darnell, Admr.," we learn that the wife of John Darnell was administratrix of his estate, for we also know that his widow's name was Rachel. The bond for two hundred pounds sterling which was given in this estate to Alexander Martin, then Governor of the state by "Rachel Darnell" is also among the old files and records of the Wilkes County Court Minutes, also now in the possession of the State Historical Commission. This bond was signed as surety by one Andrew Vannoy, supposed to have been the father of Mrs.

Darnell, and was signed, sealed and delivered in presence of G. Wheatly, Clerk of the Court.

We also know that John Darnell was the father of three children at the time of his death on August 6, 1780. The oldest one, a son, Abner by name, was a lad of only a few years, and Joseph and Benjamin, twins, were born on May 6, 1780, only three months before the death of their father. Joseph died in early infancy and Abner died when a young man, never having been married, leaving the widow, Rachel, and the son, Benjamin, sole survivors of the little family.

The writer sought for some time to ascertain why it was that John Darnell died in 1780 and yet his estate was not probated until 1785. He procured a history of North Carolina, by Hugh Williamson, 1812 imprint, and here the reason was made apparent. It was on account of the unsettled condition of the government of that state at and for sometime after the close of the Revolution. There was a time for a few years when "every man was a law unto himself" and the orderly processes of courts even failed to function. It was during the first term of Alexander Martin, as Governor, 1782-1785, that governmental functions began to be performed. From that time on North Carolina settled down to the observance of law and order, a condition to which it had long been a stranger.

Going back now to the family of John Darnell and especially to the son Benjamin. Our story is founded upon the life of this man Benjamin Darnell, his associates and the part he and they played in helping to make up the history of Illinois.

Benjamin Darnell, as has already been stated, was a son of Captain John Darnell, and was born on May 6, 1780, just three months before the death of his father at Hanging Rock, in South Carolina, on August 6. Owing to the lack of preserved data and by reason of the lapse

of time there are many things we do not know concerning the early life of this man, but there are some things we do know. It will be only the things we do know that we shall dwell upon.

He and his mother lived together during the youth of this young man, who, although reared in a state and at a time when illiteracy was the rule among the people, succeeded in acquiring the rudiments of an education early in life, to which he afterwards added a knowledge of medicine. He became proficient in this branch of learning, but owing to his natural inclination for trade and traffic he never practiced medicine as a profession. He, early in life, turned to speculation and to making money and when we consider the dearth of money there at that time, we can understand something of the difficulties which were his. He owned a store, a rural trading place, where neighbors for miles around came for such articles of household necessity as were then to be had. Not only did he retail these articles to those who came to his place of business but, annually, he would take a load of such articles as he had learned would be wanted, up into the higher regions of the Blue Ridge Mountains and there exchange them for cattle. He would take the animals thus bartered for to his farms on the lower and more level country where he owned broad acres of well watered lands. Here he could utilize the rank blue grass, which was so abundant and which was so much prized as a splendid feed. This he did for many years.

He not only inherited the five hundred acres which the state had deeded to his father in 1780, the year he was born; but he entered and purchased several tracts of the best pasture and grazing lands along Mulberry Creek and Reddie's River in Wilkes County.

The records of that county, some of which are now in the possession of the Historical Commission of North

Carolina at Raleigh, show that he received conveyances from the state of forty acres, November 26, 1810; fifty acres on December 17, 1817; forty acres on December 10, 1818. He received other grants from the state, but in addition to these, he purchased from William Lenior under date of November 5, 1805, 213 acres of land on the north fork of Reddie's River; also a tract from Archibald Owen (his wife's father) in 1816, and one from Thomas Erwin in 1819. In all, Benjamin Darnell acquired no less than one thousand acres selected especially with reference to its suitability as grazing and agricultural land.

Benjamin Darnell was married May 23, 1802, to Fannie Viers. It was necessary, then, in North Carolina, to post a bond with the Governor of the state before permission could be obtained to marry. The original of this bond, running to James Turner, then Governor, is now in the office of the Historical Commission of North Carolina. The surety on the bond was Stephen Shepherd, and it bears date May 23, 1802. He was married in his home county of Wilkes, as further shown by the records.

He maintained his residence in Wilkes County until about 1825 when, for some reason not now known, he moved into Ashe County in North Carolina. While residing in this county, and before he left the state to settle in Illinois, he sold all of his land in Wilkes County.

We do not know anything more of him while he lived in North Carolina, except that he had there reared a family of ten children, the youngest of whom in 1829, when he left the state, was nine years old, and three of them were married.

THE MOVE TO ILLINOIS

All who have given study and thought to the subject know that northern Illinois was settled by sturdy people from the eastern states, and that this flow of emigration

had started to a noticeable extent as early as 1825, and that by 1850, there was hardly an acre of land to the north of the Illinois River that had not been claimed, purchased and improved.

In 1829, this movement was only in its early beginning. Just enough had been done to advertise the northern Illinois country to prospective eastern adventurers, many of whom were singing the praises of its wonderful forests, streams, fertility and healthfulness. Among those who had heard of this wonderful country and who had seriously contemplated venturing into it, in order to improve their condition in life, was Benjamin Darnell and family. He was well-to-do, healthy, hardy and strong. He had succeeded in North Carolina as well as anyone could succeed there in those now far-off days, yet he was impatient to follow the frontier still farther towards the West. He had been born and reared on the frontier. Many, as the frontier moved farther and farther westward, followed it as one would follow after the end of the rainbow, which receded as one tried to approach. This was not the case with Benjamin Darnell. If he moved, it was to better his condition. He had heard enough about the country so that he actually believed that it would be better for himself and his large family to take the step. He was well enough off financially so far as he was concerned, but his family of children were to be considered. They might not succeed if they struck out, one by one and scattered about over the many widely separated tracts of alluring country towards the West. He thought it best to find some good place for a permanent home in a section of the country where his children might live near to each other on lands of the nature he had conceived would be found in northern Illinois.

He was forty-nine years of age. Three of his children were married and striving to carve for themselves success-

ful careers out of the foothills and grazing lands of Wilkes County, North Carolina. He did not suggest that some other member of the family should make the first move into the West and test the truth of the current rumors of the time. He proposed to take his wife and his six younger children and go himself to try the great experiment, and, if successful, as he confidently believed and expected he would be, they could all later join him when the uncertainties were definitely removed.

This family did not start on its journey without ample preparation. Several days, even weeks, were employed in making arrangements. Wagons of ample size and ponderous weight were secured. Great boxes were built of sufficient capacity for the family, their household goods and the many tools for use in accident and emergency while on the trip, and for the building of shelter for the family and stock at the end of the journey.

When all was ready, when the wagons were loaded and the stock which was to go were hitched or yoked to the wagons, or tied, or prepared to be driven, the family took their places in the little caravan and the journey was on. Soon the winding roads through the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains shut out the view of their old North Carolina home, backward glances at which had no doubt been cast.

None of the incidents of this trip have been preserved. They would be interesting if they could be correctly told, but the lack of either written details or reliable tradition has permitted them to fade away like the lives of those who experienced them and they are now forever buried in the grave yard of forgotten events, covered deep by the relentless lapse of time. All we can say is that they made the journey, and we must depend wholly upon imagination for the details.

It was drawing close to the fall equinox when this

little party of home seekers one day in 1829 stopped at a spot rendered beautiful by nature, and supplied with every natural advantage that the most exacting heart could wish. They "called it a day." The journey was ended. A site which seemed to answer the flattering description which for months had come to them, and ran riot through their very thoughts, had at last been reached. Here was timber such as they had seldom seen, the ground covered with blue grass of a superior quality insured pasture for "herds without number," while the prairies, stretching off, nearby, towards the north and east promised abundant fertility. The land was gently rolling, a fact which guaranteed high and dry places for buildings, and the clear waters of a nearby brook seemed a sure warrant against stagnation and malaria.

Here, on what became, when the surveys were made, the northeast quarter of section seven, township thirty north, range one east of the third principal meridian, in the County of Marshall and State of Illinois, they "staked out their claim," built shelter for themselves and their stock and did such other acts of ownership and possession as were required to hold the land until it came into the market, at which time they would have the first right to purchase it at the low price of \$1.25 per acre.

The same year that the Darnell family arrived on what has since been known as "Sandy Creek," or "Sandy," there also arrived a few young men, only one of whom, Patrick Cunningham, was married. The others were George B. Hollenbach, Thomas Brooks, Joseph Smith, Horace Gaylord, Alva Humphry, Abel Esterbrooks, William Hart, Richard Hunt and Samuel Hawkins. Until the next year, 1830, these were the only people in what is now Evans Township in Marshall County. The winter, which proved to be one of extreme severity, came on gradually giving both the caution and the oppor-

tunity to prepare for it by the construction of warm shacks where the cold days and colder nights might be spent in reasonable comfort.

When the season finally had settled down to real winter weather, it found them all and especially the Darnell family well protected. They had erected or built a warm log house large enough in which to begin life in the new land of their adoption. They could and did build so as to shut out the frost and the cold, but there was one intruder which had been knocking for entrance for several days, which, do what they would, they could not restrain. Death at length forced an entrance and took from this sorrowing family the youngest daughter, Lucy, then but thirteen years old.

During her sickness and death these hardy young men of whom mention has been made, offered every sympathy and help. When death came some expert craftsmanship was needed. "Necessity is the mother of invention" is a saying which rings true. A casket was needed for the mortal remains of Lucy Darnell. Here the expert craftsman had his opportunity. One of these men, a fine workman with but crude tools, cut a black walnut tree, split it into suitably sized pieces, carved and fashioned them into a casket of respectable appearance. It was in this that the body was placed for burial. They dug a grave on a little knoll, near the house, which grave is now in what since has become the large and beautiful Cumberland Cemetery, where many of the early settlers of "Sandy" and their children and grand children now are taking their long and silent rest. Here she was buried, and there still stands to mark and designate the spot a white marble slab upon which is engraved her name and her age.

The next year others drifted in and cast their lot with those who had preceded them. Some came to be with

their relatives or friends, while others just happened along in search of a splendid place to settle, but no sooner did they arrive and enter a homestead than they met, became acquainted and soon became friends.

In 1830, there came James Reynolds, Josiah Evans, Thomas Dixon, George Martin, John S. Hunt, John Darnell, Lemuel Gaylord, John Griffity, Stewart Ward, Kimley and Jeremiah Hartenbower. James Reynolds, the first one above mentioned as arriving 1830, died soon after his arrival and was buried near the spot where the year before Lucy Darnell was laid away, and his was the second burial in Cumberland Cemetery. He left a widow and one daughter, Mary, concerning whom we will hereafter allude.

During the year of 1831 others arrived, coming as did those in 1830, some by reason of relatives and friends already there, while others happened along and being impressed with the country, stayed. During 1831, there arrived Justice Jones, Ira Jones, Barton Jones, Abram Jones, Thomas Judd, Mr. Rosenbarger and Abram Darnell. Abram Darnell was a son of Benjamin Darnell and Thomas Judd was a son-in-law.

During the years of 1829, 1830 and 1831, there had gathered on Sandy Creek from various states in the East about thirty men, most of whom were married and were heads of families ranging from two or three each, to seven or nine, to a family.

By the close of the year 1831, there were a number of quite respectable log houses on Sandy Creek. Acres of land had been broken and food for man and beast was now assured, and in plenty. When winter came it found a frugal but a healthful and contented people, located near the place where Benjamin Darnell and his family had settled. There had been no means of procuring meal for bread up until 1830, except by pulverizing the corn by hand,

EARLY SETTLERS OF MARSHALL COUNTY

with an improvised wooden pestle in a handmade wooden mortar, but now George Hollenbach had constructed a mill only a few miles to the north, which, while small, was of ample capacity for the needs of the few settlers whom it served. A blacksmith shop stood conveniently by and near to the house of Benjamin Darnell, which shop was supplied with tools which he had thoughtfully brought from North Carolina. Looms were set up in several of the homes where the women and girls spent long winter evenings weaving wool and hemp into cloth. Flails were heard in the barns of the farmers as they separated the wheat from the straw and in many a place the shocked fodder was being husked, and the ears of corn stored away in cribs or in boxes. All was going well and all went well until the Indian uprising in May of 1832.

INDIAN TROUBLES

In 1804, General Harrison had made a treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians whereby they gave up all claims to the lands near the mouth of the Rock River in north-western Illinois, and agreed to remain on the west side of the Mississippi River. Black Hawk, Chief of the Sacs, claimed that the treaty was illegally entered into; that the government of the United States had wronged and cheated the Indians out of their lands.

Black Hawk was very much attached to these lands, as they had long been the hunting grounds of his tribe; his daughter and his parents, besides many of his deceased friends, were buried near the present city of Oquawka. He visited this spot once a year in order that he might behold the burial grounds of his departed kin and mourn over the grave of his beloved daughter.

In the spring of 1831, he defied the order of the government that he remain on the west side of the Mississippi, and with three hundred of his warriors and many women and children he crossed over near the mouth of the Rock

River, taking also some allies from the Pottawatomie and Kickapoo Indian tribes and proceeded to re-establish himself on his ancient hunting grounds, much of which were in the hands of settlers who had taken possession and made valuable improvements.

Black Hawk ordered the white settlers away, threw down their fences, unroofed their houses, cut off their grain, drove off and killed their cattle and threatened to kill all who did not go.

The settlers made their complaint to Governor Reynolds. He immediately dispatched letters to General Gaines of the United States Army. Gaines repaired to Rock Island, with a few companies of regular soldiers, and soon decided that the red men were determined to have war. He called upon Governor Reynolds for seven hundred mounted volunteers. The Governor supplied the requisition. A call was made upon some of the northern and central counties, and soon fifteen hundred volunteers rushed to his standard, concentrating at Beardstown. The Indians soon sued for peace. A treaty was signed with them by which they agreed to remain forever on the west side of the river, and never to cross it without the permission of the President or the Governor of the State.

Notwithstanding this latter treaty, in the spring of 1832 Black Hawk and other dissatisfied Indians prepared again to assert their rights to the disputed territory. They recrossed the Mississippi River and ascended well up the Rock River. Governor Reynolds again called for volunteers. In a few days eighteen hundred men had rallied to his call and were again concentrated at Beardstown.

This time Black Hawk meant business. He did not intend, only to drive the settlers off the land, but determined upon a campaign of extermination. He intended to fall upon as many of the settlers as possible and take their lives as rapidly as he could.

The fruitless and frustrated movements of Black Hawk in the spring of 1831, had served to lull the settlers into a composure which was not of long duration. They had thought for a time that the dangers from Indian outbreaks were past.

It was at this time, on a dark and rainy night in May, 1832, that the people on Sandy Creek were warned that Black Hawk had crossed the Mississippi River near the mouth of Rock River and was sending bands of his scalping warriors not only up that river, but also to the south and southeast down into the Fox and Illinois river country.

Fear was depicted on every face and terror was plainly seen on every countenance. The word was carried and spread as hurriedly as possible. Soon every person on the creek old enough to understand the peril in which the little colony was placed was up and alert. A meeting was called to be held at a log house in the northeastern part of Roberts Township. The men and women gathered up their children and early in the evening all had assembled to consider what was to be done. They must flee to some stronghold, leaving their homes and their property, or they must put themselves in a safe position "to stand their ground." At this meeting it was decided that they would not leave, "Indian or no Indian," but that they would build a fort to protect themselves against such fates and dangers as might befall them.

The next morning, early, saw every able bodied man and boy with axe, wedge, maul and saw, in the timber, where, for some days, they cut down large trees, sawed the butts to the proper length, split them and thus prepared them for the construction of a fort.

They chose a place gently sloping and surrounded by trees of goodly size. Here they dug trenches of considerable depth, then hauling the split logs with horses and oxen to the site selected, they set them on end in this

trench, filling the sod and dirt back against them, leaving the logs, when the fort was completed, protruding about ten feet above the level of the ground. They left several openings through which to thrust their guns in case of necessity. The exact dimensions of this fort are not known, but it must have been of considerable size, for they built cabins inside of sufficient capacity to house at least seventy persons and, besides, there was room for the wagons and other such implements of husbandry as were to remain in the colony. Here, in this fort, those who remained lived until the dangers were past. It was located on the farm of Benjamin Darnell, just north of the present residence of Wilber Mann, in the northeast quarter of section seven, township thirty north, range one east of the third principal meridian, Marshall (then a part of La Salle) County, and has ever since been referred to as Fort Darnell. A well was dug inside the fort which is still in use.

It will be seen that the "inmates" of Fort Darnell, for some time, were not so sure of the security which it might afford them when we take into consideration that on May 20, 1832, while they were still feverishly laboring to complete it, only eight miles north of Ottawa, on Indian Creek, Mr. Hall and his wife, their daughter Elizabeth Hall, eight years old, William Pettigrew, his wife, and two children, and Mr. Davis, his wife, and five children were all killed, and two of the Hall girls, Rachel, fifteen, and Sylvia, seventeen, were carried away into captivity.

A Mr. Schermerhorn and a Mr. Hazelton were shortly thereafter murdered and scalped at Dayton, only four miles up Fox River from Ottawa, and a Mr. Bearsford was killed and Mr. McFadden seriously wounded on Indian Creek, not far from Ottawa. Adam Payne, a Dunkard preacher, was killed and scalped at Holderman's

Grove, in Kendall County, as late as the fall of 1832. On the 17th of June, 1832, about sixteen miles northwest of Hennepin, Elijah Philips was killed but not scalped, by a small band of Indians.

These depredations continued more or less frequently during the period of the war, which, happily, was brought to a close by a complete routing of Black Hawk and his followers early in the fall of 1832. The fort, however, was not immediately abandoned. The memory of the violated treaty of 1831, served to make the people skeptical as to the binding effect of an Indian treaty. It was not until well into the year of 1833 that confidence was completely established and the protection of the fort relinquished.

EARLY SETTLERS

Let us now notice a few of the facts which we have been able to glean concerning those who settled on Sandy Creek in 1829, 1830 and 1831. In doing so, we will first take note of those who took refuge in Fort Darnell during the Black Hawk War, but who were not directly related to the Darnell family; secondly, we will recite a few of the facts in the lives of those who were the first to settle on Sandy Creek in Marshall County, then a part of La Salle County, but who went elsewhere for protection during the war.

One of the first, if indeed not the first to arrive on the creek, in 1829, was Patrick Cunningham who had migrated from Ohio early in that year in search of a future home. He was, unlike most of those who arrived in 1829, married and had a young family. His wife, who was a daughter of Clark Hollenbach, remained in Ohio during that year, coming on with her father, her uncle, George Hollenbach and her two brothers, George B. and Thomas, in 1830. Pat Cunningham was already on the ground when Benjamin Darnell and his family arrived

later in the fall, and had erected a shack about a mile to the east of the spot afterwards selected by the Darnells. He was a young man, large, strong, and brave and seemed well suited to undergo the hardships incident to such an adventure. He was married in Ohio about 1825.

In the spring of 1831, having heard favorable reports of the Fox River country, in what later became Kendall County, and his Uncle George and his father-in-law having decided to locate there, he took his family to a spot in what is now section six of the Town of Big Grove, in that county, where he settled and began to lay the foundation of what he then supposed would be his future home.

Here he remained, near by the homes of his wife's father and uncle until the spring of 1832. Early in the month of May, 1832, the unwelcome news was spread abroad throughout the neighborhood that Black Hawk had recrossed the Mississippi River near Rock Island, and that scalping bands of savage warriors were on their way to the south and southeast determined to exterminate the white people and repossess the ground for themselves and their leader.

Mr. Cunningham did not yield, at first, but hoping that the sudden storm of fear would soon pass, remained until he nearly lost his life in an attempt to save his home and clearing. He took his family, and being joined by George B. and Thomas Hollenbach, brothers of his wife, hastened back to "Sandy" near where he had first settled in 1829. Here they assisted in the work of finishing the fort on the farm of Benjamin Darnell, which, when finished, they entered, remaining until the danger was past.

Patrick Cunningham and his wife, Hannah, were the parents of seven children, some of whom were with them in the fort. Their names were Ann, George, John,

William, Rachel, Jennie and Lib. William and his father both served their country as good soldiers during the Civil War, both taking the risk of death in their efforts to preserve the union of the states and the honor of its flag. William was killed by the Indians in Kansas shortly after the close of the Civil War. Mrs. Cunningham died while still in her thirties, and hers is said to have been the third burial in the now venerable Newark and Millington cemetery. Mr. Cunningham lived to a generous old age, passing away during the "eighties," while several of his children were still able to comfort his declining years.

John S. Hunt came from Ohio to Marshall County, Illinois, in 1830. He was accompanied by his wife, Margaret (Millikin) Hunt. She was born May 18, 1805, and he on November 28, 1801, both in Ohio. They remained in Marshall County, near the site of Fort Darnell, which gave them and a number of their children protection from the Indians during the Black Hawk War, until their respective deaths. Mr. Hunt died January 4, 1869. His wife survived him for more than six years. She passed away on September 26, 1875. Mrs. Comfort (Hunt) Dixon, now living at Wenona, Illinois, but very feeble in health, is a daughter of John S. Hunt and wife. One of the sons, Samuel M. Hunt, is still living at Lawton, Oklahoma. The names of the other children were Richard W., John M., James, Joseph E., William H., Catherine (Hunt) Frazee, Mary (Hunt) Coe, Betty, Jane (Hunt) Shipley and Elvira Ellen (Hunt) McCall. From the foregoing it will be seen that there were in all eleven children born to this couple. No less than three or four of the older ones were born before 1832, and were with their parents in the fort.

Josiah Evans, after whom the Town of Evans in Marshall County was named, was born in Loudon County,

Virginia, January 5, 1793. His father, Thomas Evans, died in 1811, when Josiah was but eighteen years old, leaving his widow with eight children. She was a brave and noble woman. She reared her family to manhood and womanhood, all becoming worthy of her privations and her care. At the age of nineteen, Josiah enlisted in the War of 1812. He was present at Detroit when that city was surrendered by General Hull. This surrender was an act of cowardice which this young man could never forget or forgive.

In 1816, he was married to Elizabeth Radcliffe, by whom he had three sons and six daughters. He was an early settler in the Town of Evans, going there in 1830 and spending the remainder of his life there on his farm. In 1833, "Sandy Precinct" was carved out and included all of the territory now comprising the Towns of Evans and Roberts. In 1852, when these towns were finally laid out, the Town of Evans was named after Josiah Evans. In 1853, Mrs. Elizabeth (Radcliffe) Evans, his wife, having died, he married Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, widow of Justice Jones. Mr. Evans died January 15, 1869. By his second marriage, he had three children, one of whom became Mrs. Brown. At the time Mr. Evans was in Fort Darnell, his family consisted of his wife and no less than six of his children, some of whom were in their early infancy.

Richard Hunt, in many ways one of the most picturesque of the early settlers of Marshall County, came with the single men in 1829. Ruth Harron, who afterwards became his wife, came from his native state, New Jersey, where she was born at Trenton in 1812. Her people also came to be among the best known of the old and permanent settlers. They were married January 1, 1833, at Fort Darnell. The next spring, on March 30, 1833, Richard Hunt was elected justice of the peace in "Sandy Precinct," a political subdivision of a part of

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what was then La Salle County. Those who voted at that election have all long since departed this life, but their names are known, and Mrs. Ethel Caldwell has the original poll book upon which they were written on the day of the election. They were Dudley Humphrey, John S. Hunt, John Darnell, Thomas Dixon, Benjamin Darnell, Benjamin Jones, Thomas Judd, Abram Darnell, Burton Jones, Justice Jones, George Martin, Joshua W. Martin, Joshua Evans, Alvin Humphry, Horace Gaylord and Lemuel Gaylord.

We find that the newly elected justice of the peace had some business the first year in office. The records of La Salle County show that on August 15, 1833, he officiated at the marriage of Thomas Hollenbach and Susan Darnell, a daughter of Benjamin Darnell, which took place in the fort. Richard Hunt and his brothers John and Cornelius all became farmers and farm owners on "Sandy Creek," where they spent the remainder of their lives.

The children of Richard Hunt and wife were Lyman C., Mahlon L., Timothy, Sylvia, Eleanor, Jennie, Ruth and Mary. Mahlon L. entered the Union Army during the Civil War, Co. B., 86th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He was wounded at Lookout Mountain and died from the effects in October, 1862. Richard Hunt passed his later days on his farm, among his children, relatives and friends.

Thomas Brooks, a pious and devout "Man of God" came to "Sandy" in 1830, where he settled and spent several years of his life. It was at his house in 1831 that the first religious society in the Town of Evans was formed. John Dixon, a local preacher of Dry Grove, came to Cherry Point, on the creek, to visit his son, Thomas Dixon. While there he "felt a call" to do some religious work. He held a two days' meeting and succeeded in enrolling in his class Thomas Brooks and wife, Justice Jones and wife, Abram Jones and wife, Josiah

Evans and wife, Thomas Dixon and wife, and Barton Jones,—eleven in all. In 1831, this was a showing of nearly 100 per cent of the residents in that immediate neighborhood.

William R. Royal, a Methodist preacher, then a member of the Peoria mission, took charge of this little flock and ministered to it for a time, but on account of the subsequent removal from the locality of Thomas Brooks, Thomas Dixon, Abram Jones, and their wives, this society soon died out. In 1834, on August 29th, another class was organized which still survives. It is not known just how many of the children of Thomas Brooks were with him and his wife in the fort, but it is almost certain that one or two of them were.

George B. Hollenbach, a son of Clark Hollenbach, was one of those who were driven away from near Newark, Kendall County, by the Indians in the spring of 1832. He had spent some time just north of the fort farm, or the farm upon which the fort was to be built, during the year 1830, and while there had become acquainted with the settlers on the creek, including the Darnell family.

In 1830, James Reynolds, wife and daughter Mary arrived, but Mr. Reynolds being in extremely poor health died the fall of his arrival leaving his widow and daughter with but little means of support. Mrs. Reynolds was a "good sport," and she fought her way so courageously that George B. Hollenbach became interested in her and the next year, 1831, married her and took her and the daughter, Mary, to Newark, which was then soon to be called Georgetown in honor of this man George B.

Mr. Hollenbach had built a store at Newark, the dimensions of which have been preserved in Hick's *History of Kendall County*. He says, "The store was of one room, 12 feet square, and served not only as a store, but also as the family residence." Mr. Hollenbach went to Peoria for goods, where he purchased a bill

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amounting to \$200.00 to be placed on sale in this store. These goods consisted mostly of trinkets such as could be sold or bartered to the Indians. It is needless to say that this store did not do business very long. All Indians were not so peaceful as the few who still roamed the woods and prairies of Kendall County at that time. In the spring of 1832, when the word came that Black Hawk and his followers were on the war path, Mr. Hollenbach and his family were among those who barely escaped with their lives. He and his wife and his step-daughter escaped death by immediate flight when the Indians were all but on them. Joining his brother-in-law, Patrick Cunningham, and his brother Thomas, then a young man, they all hurried to Fort Darnell, while others of the Hollenbach family hastened to Plainfield and finally to Chicago.

George B. Hollenbach, the danger being past, returned to Kendall County, or to what afterwards became Kendall County in 1841, where for many years he was one of the most influential persons in the county. His step-daughter, Mary Reynolds, having grown to womanhood, married Ami G. Newton, who was three times sheriff of Kendall County. She became the mother of Hon. William R. Newton, late of Yorkville, Illinois, and Robert Newton and Mrs. Jackson, both now deceased.

Alva Humphry settled in the town of Evans in 1829, taking up land adjacent to the old fort farm. He was one of the men who spent many an anxious hour as the fort was nearing completion on account of the stories which daily came to the workmen of Indian massacres. When the work on the fort was finally completed he took advantage of its protection. He remained on his farm after the close of the war but a short time for we find that in 1834 he saw, or thought he saw, a chance to better his condition. He sold out his rights to his claim to one D. F. Griffin and moved away to a new location on Rock River. Here we lose sight of him.

Jeremiah Hartenbower and his family settled in what is now the Town of Roberts, some two miles west of the fort farm in the year 1832. He had first thought to settle farther to the east, but finding a place to the west more suitable, he finally settled in the Town of Roberts.

He had scarcely made his choice and repaired to it, when the Indian outbreak forced him to a temporary abandonment of his claim. He hastened to assist in the erection of the fort and as soon as it was completed, took his family there. At what time he left "Sandy" or where he went it has not been possible at this time to ascertain.

George Martin was another of the arrivals of 1830. He was a native of Connecticut. He took up land, upon his arrival, in the immediate vicinity of the Darnell farm, upon which he spent the remainder of his life; which, sad to say, was short. He died in 1838. He is buried in Cumberland Cemetery, near his old home. He was prosperous. When he died he left his widow a fine farm of 200 acres. Upon this place she continued to reside for fifty-three years, or until her death.

While the Black Hawk War was in progress and with his intended wife in the fort, Martin spent his time and his energies towards keeping the red men to the north of the Illinois River. He was married in 1833, to Miss Lucy Gaylord, a woman of such high character that she remained loved and respected by all of her neighbors and friends from the time of her arrival on the creek about 1831, until the day of her death in 1891, a period upwards of sixty years.

She was the daughter of Lemuel Gaylord, a Revolutionary War soldier, who although but sixteen years of age was present when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. The grandfather of Lucy Gaylord, Lieutenant Aaron Gaylord, was killed at the Wyoming massacre in 1778. He had moved there in 1776, and upon his death,

the family, through great privations and suffering returned to their former home in Bristol, Connecticut. The widow of Lieutenant Gaylord accompanied her son Lemuel to Illinois and to Marshall County, where she continued to live until the time of her death in 1840. She was born in 1745. Upon her death, she was buried in Cumberland Cemetery. In 1896, a monument was erected at her grave bearing this inscription: "Katherine Coles Gaylord, Wife of Lieutenant Aaron Gaylord, 1745-1840. In memory of her suffering and heroism at the massacre of Wyoming in 1778, this stone is erected by her descendants and the members of the Katherine Coles Gaylord Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

There were born to George Martin and wife, Lucy, two children, Aaron and Sylvia. Aaron died while quite young. Sylvia became the wife of James Kirkpatrick, who was a member of 104th Illinois Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War. He died while in the service of his country in 1862. Sylvia and Mr. Kirkpatrick were the parents of J. M. Kirkpatrick, now of Ontario, California. She died at the home of her son, April 29, 1931, and is buried at Pomona, California. She was born January 20, 1838.

After the death of George Martin in 1838, his widow remained unmarried until 1842, when she was united in marriage with James Gibson, who died in 1855, leaving by this marriage two children, Isabel and James. Isabel, who was born December 10, 1843, became the wife of William Parkinson in 1866.

Justice Jones came to Sandy Creek by way of covered wagon in 1831. He was a son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Mintern) Jones. He was born June 17, 1798, and died November 1, 1849, at the age of fifty-one years. He is buried in Cherry Point Cemetery. Mr. Jones was married to Sally Warner Conley in Ohio, February 9, 1820. She

died June 27, 1845. This worthy husband and wife left six children, namely: Daniel Warner, Louisa, Elizabeth Mintern, Sarah Zenas Roper, Matilda Jane and Drusella Myers.

After the death of his wife in 1845, Mr. Jones remained single for a time, but on account of his children, who had been bereft of a mother and a mother's care, on September 24, 1846, he was united in marriage with Elizabeth Pars. They had one child, Augusta. Some three years after the death of Justice Jones, his second wife, in 1853, married Josiah Evans.

The father of the first Mrs. Jones, Joseph Warner, was a Revolutionary War soldier. We are quite reliably informed by way of a history of Marshall County, that this Mr. Warner, after he was 100 years old, rode a horse all the way from Ohio to the home of his daughter in the Town of Evans. He lived to be 104 years of age. He now lies buried in Cherry Point Cemetery. Justice Jones and wife and five or six of their children were in Fort Darnell in 1832.

Stewart Ward and family were in the fort during the war. He was a brother of John Ward. They arrived upon the creek in 1831, where they remained for a few years, and then drifted away with the tide of migration. It has been impossible for us to find, in any of the printed data of that region, any hint as to when they left or where they went.

The old settlers in the present Town of Evans, who came in 1829, 1830 and 1831, but who did not take refuge in the fort, although most of them aided in its construction, were as follows:

Horace Gaylord, son of Lemuel Gaylord and a brother of Lucy Gaylord, who married George Martin at the fort in 1833, came from Connecticut in 1829. He settled a little to the west of the Darnell farm, in the Town of

Roberts. He removed many years ago to Glasgow, Iowa. His brother Aaron, born in Connecticut in 1792, died near the fort farm in 1834. Two of Aaron's daughters died the same year. He was the father of Dr. Edward Gaylord, late of Magnolia; Dr. Hiram Gaylord, late of Pontiac; James S. Gaylord, late of western Kansas; Orange Gaylord, who moved to Oregon many years ago, and Mrs. T. Beckwith, of Marshall County.

Abel Esterbrook came in 1829, and settled in the Town of Roberts the same year. His claim was about two miles to the west of the fort farm, which was in the western part of the Town of Evans. He came west by wagon and was active in assisting with the work on the fort. He did not avail himself of its protection, but went elsewhere.

William Hart was another of the arrivals of 1829. He settled near the fort farm where he remained on a claim until about 1840 and 1841. He then moved to Kendall County, and settled on a small farm in section eight of the Town of Fox, where he remained for almost half a century. He left the farm about 1890, locating in Sandwich where he and his wife remained until their death some few years later. They were the parents of two children, Henry and Ephraim, now deceased.

Lemuel Gaylord (son of Lieutenant Aaron Gaylord who was killed at the Wyoming massacre in Pennsylvania, July 19, 1778), came to Marshall County in 1831. His sons Aaron and Horace had gone on ahead in 1829. Lemuel Gaylord was born in 1765, at Bristol, Connecticut. He was a soldier in the Revolution while only sixteen years old. In fact he was at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. His family had moved from Bristol, Connecticut, in 1776, to the Wyoming valley in Pennsylvania. It was while the family was at Wyoming that his father, Lieut. Aaron Gaylord was killed. The widow and children made their way back to Bristol,

Connecticut, where they remained until they left for Illinois in 1829 and 1831. Lemuel Gaylord died in 1854. He is buried in Cumberland Cemetery where, also, rest the remains of his mother, his wife, his daughter, one of his sons and many of his grandchildren and other relatives.

James Reynolds settled on Sandy Creek in 1830. He died the same year, leaving his widow and one daughter, Mary. He was buried in what is now Cumberland Cemetery. His was the second burial there. Mrs. Reynolds, the next year, became the wife of George B. Hollenbach, a prominent Kendall County man. Mary Reynolds, the step-daughter of George B. Hollenbach, married Ami G. Newton, who was three times sheriff of Kendall County, Illinois. She was the mother of Hon. William R. Newton, late of Yorkville, Illinois.

Abram Jones and Barton Jones, who were brothers of Justice Jones, who was in the fort, all came to Marshall County in 1831. Barton moved to Iowa in 1835. The others lived the remainder of their days on Sandy Creek. It is said that "they were all good men, honest, industrious and religious."

There are a few others of the early settlers on "Sandy" concerning whom it has been impossible to obtain any accurate knowledge. We know that they came, they lingered for a time and that they went. Whence they came, how long they remained and where they went we do not know. They were Joseph Smith and Samuel Hawkins in 1829, Thomas Dixon, John Griffity, John Ward, and Kimley Hartenbower in 1830, and Mr. Rosenberger and Mr. Simpson in 1831. If there were others who came to the Town of Evans in Marshall County earlier than 1829, or during 1829, 1830 and 1831, we have been wholly unable, after diligent search, to ascertain such fact. We have tried to name them all, and to recite only such things concerning them as we believed to be authentic.

THE FORT

We shall now direct our attention to Fort Darnell during the time of its actual occupancy from late in May, 1832, until the late spring of 1833. During this time actually no less than fifteen heads of families — married men — occupied the fort. Then, in addition, there were several young people, some almost grown to manhood and womanhood. There were also several children, perhaps thirty in all; making a combined population in the fort of no less than seventy souls. Several children were born in the fort during this time and a number of marriages were solemnized.

As soon as the fort was completed, which was as soon as humanly possible after it was begun, those who were to receive its protection moved in, while those neighbors and friends who did not avail themselves of the privilege, went elsewhere for safety.

In the immediate neighborhood of the fort there had been stored some corn, a little wheat, and there had been left behind a number of cattle and a few swine. These the occupants of the fort were commissioned to protect, so far as possible, and in case of necessity to use such as would add to their comfort. The only means of sustenance was corn meal and meat. The only way to get corn meal was to pound up the corn, which was placed in a receptacle hewn out of a log, with the blunt end of a short pole, a makeshift for a mortar and pestle.

A well was dug in the center of the fort, to which all might go for water, instead of running the risk of going to the creek or to a spring, thus exposing themselves to the treachery of the skulking Indians. This well, now over one hundred years old, is still furnishing plenty of pure cold water. It is just north of the family residence of Wilber Mann, who was born on the old Darnell Fort

farm, as was also his mother. They cherish the historic memories of the old fort with almost as much pride as they would if they or their forbears had participated in the warlike scenes and experiences there during the Black Hawk War. Benjamin Darnell who first settled where the Mann residence now stands and who owned the farm at the time the fort was built in 1832, sold his interest in the land during the year of 1834, to one David Griffin, from whom it passed, after several mesne conveyances, to the Mann family which has now occupied it close to three-quarters of a century.

Within the inclosure of the fort, which was made of split hickory logs, as Thomas Judd who was in the fort as a boy tells us, there were provided several log houses for the use of the women and children, while a number of the large covered wagons which had served as habitations on the long journeys across country, were used by the men, except perhaps during inclement weather, in which case all except those on guard were quartered in the houses.

During the time when the danger was the most acute some one or more of the men with gun in hand stood guard outside of the fort. One night while James, a young man then twenty years of age, a son of Benjamin Darnell, was on guard, a friendly Indian, Shick Shack by name, who had frequently visited the fort, came and asked the protection of the fort. There had been an unusual scare that day and Shick Shack, who had with him his squaw, daughter and son-in-law, the two latter being quite young, was afraid of the adherents to Black Hawk and claimed they would be killed as quickly as white men if they were captured. James asked him if he would fight with the white people. Shick Shack answered "No." He and his family were not permitted to enter, but were allowed to camp just outside. No sooner were they settled

than they produced small paddle-like pieces of wood upon which were painted some crude characters and commenced to pray. These paddles they would hold up perpendicularly as the prayer commenced, letting them fall by degrees until they reached the ground. Then raising them again, almost in unison, they would repeat the words of the prayer as the prayer paddle descended. As this was repeated over and over again all night, James learned the Indian prayer, which his son, William, gives in an interesting account of Fort Darnell published in Volume Seventeen of the Kansas State Historical Society, as follows:

"Sac a no sac
Nock a moon
Coc a nut sac"

No attack was made on the fort that night. The prayers, seemingly, were answered, and Shick Shack and his family, the next morning, feeling that the danger was over, departed.

But few of the incidents of that trying time and precarious existence have been preserved, but it is quite easy to imagine that seventy people, ranging in age from sixty years or more, to infancy, could not spend a very comfortable winter in such a place under such conditions. We are told, however, that while the times were hard indeed, and while they could do little more than live, none complained. They were all resigned to their surroundings and none of them ever forgot his duty to each other or to God. They lived in peace and hoped for an early deliverance from the imprisonment which they felt was necessarily imposed.

The real metal and character of these people can be understood from a knowledge of what they did. They did not forget, even amid these trying conditions, to discharge their duty to their children.

During the winter of 1832 and 1833, they "fixed up" a cabin in the old fort, and hired a man by the name of Anson Bryant to teach school. This school, if some of our modern pedagogues could visualize it, just as it was, might not satisfy their notion as to what a school should be, but it was the best that could be had under the circumstances, and some of the pupils, in spite of the crudeness of it all, turned out to be men of character and affairs.

The names of the pupils attending this school are known, and in order that their names may be preserved to posterity, I give them here. They were John C. Dent, Minerva Dent, R. E. Dent, children of Enoch Dent who made provision for their protection in the fort; Enoch Darnell, Larkin Darnell and Benjamin Darnell, children of Benjamin Darnell, Senior; Alfred Judd, son of Thomas Judd, and William Evans, son of Josiah Evans. These pupils, except one, Larkin Darnell, who died at an early age, grew to manhood and womanhood and became staunch men and women in their several communities. In 1834, a school house near the old fort was built from the unsawed trees of the forest, and which stood for many years as a forerunner of the "old red school house." Thomas Judd, who had been a boy in Fort Darnell, taught school there one winter for two months, five and one-half days per week. He was to make up lost time, board himself, get \$10.00 per month, one-half in money and one-half in live stock or store goods, in which latter case, he was to get the stock or goods at one-half price. School was to commence January 15, 1846. He was to get his pay May 1, 1847. The contract was dated January 15, 1846, and signed by Thomas Judd, teacher and by John S. Hunt. Jacob Myers and James Beaty, school trustees. Mrs. Ethel Caldwell of Wenona, Illinois, who has written quite extensively on Evans Township, has the orig-

inal contract and several other interesting relics of the early days, in her possession. She is a direct descendant of Benjamin Darnell.

Religious services were conducted at and in the fort during 1832 and 1833, by Rev. William R. Royal, a Methodist preacher, who was born in Virginia about 1800. He came west about 1830, and became a member of the Illinois Conference in 1831. It was early in 1832 that he first came to the fort. He was then a member of Fort Clark mission, now Peoria, but in 1835, he was transferred to the Des Plaines mission, which that year was changed to the Fox River Circuit. He was very active for many years. He organized churches, or societies, at Aurora, Wheaton, Rockford, Belvidere, Marengo, Crystal Lake, Dundee and other places in northern Illinois. In 1853, on account of failing health, he went to Oregon. He died there September 29, 1870. During his stay on the Fox River Circuit he owned and lived on a farm near Millington in Kendall County. He was a man of deep religious sentiment and feeling and much beloved by all whom he served in his capacity as a preacher.

The only other preacher who served the people in the fort was Aaron Payne. His brother, Adam, also a preacher, was killed by the Indians at Holderman's Grove in Kendall County, in 1832. He resolved to avenge his brother's death, which he later did, but he came near losing his life in the encounter. He was badly crippled, but nevertheless, he continued his religious work. He was often a familiar figure in and around Marshall County for many years. He traveled sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot, but however he traveled, or wherever he went, he was always followed by his faithful dog. He finally left Illinois and went to Oregon where he died, many years ago.

Not only were these good people of the fort provided

with the advantages of a preacher, but they also organized a Sunday School.

Miss Eveline Conley (a relative of the Jones boys) was the teacher in this school. She was an ardent Methodist of the old school, a good singer and possessed fine qualities for leadership. Her Sunday School was made up of almost every person in the fort old enough to understand. This, we are told, furnished religious inspiration when, as was often the case, the preacher, owing to the great size of his circuit and the uncertainty of the roads could not be present on Sunday. Miss Conley never failed them, and she was never without a class of well nigh 100 percent of the inhabitants of the fort.

Friendships of a lasting nature were formed at Fort Darnell, where the people who occupied it were drawn together by the bonds of a common danger and a common misfortune. Several of the young people who were thrown together there during the continuance of the Black Hawk War, contracted marriages which proved both lasting and happy. To all of these, when the trying and dangerous days were finally ended, it must have seemed as though the "chastisement" which they endured was really a "blessing in disguise."

While this fort, built in haste in 1832, in the woods on the farm of Benjamin Darnell, has never found a place in history as conspicuous as many a larger, stronger and more pretentious artificial protection, it had its hardships, trials and tribulations as hard to endure and as fraught with danger as many another, more known in song and in story. It was a real fort, built not for conquest but for protection. It lasted but a short time. It fulfilled its purpose. It has long since disappeared and no trace is left to tell posterity that it ever was. We seek to perpetuate its memory.

THE SOUTHERN ILLINOIS COLLEGE

By

RICHARD LAWRENCE BEYER

The Middle West is an academic graveyard strewn with the bones of colleges that once flourished and then died. The educational history of Illinois is in part an obituary of colleges that served the state in the nineteenth century only to pass away. One of the little institutions, now half-forgotten, that catered to a part of the commonwealth intellectually for a few years was the Southern Illinois College at Carbondale.

The Southern Illinois College¹ had its origin in the spring of 1866, within the Christian Church. The people of this denomination for some time had been interested in a college and to push the project two meetings were held in the town of DuQuoin. In August, interested members of the Christian Church met at DeSoto and they resolved to purchase the holdings of the defunct Carbondale College which had been established just a few years earlier. This property was valued at twelve thousand dollars in 1866, and to meet the costs of the purchase, contributions were solicited. Several large donations were made and although these did not cover the entire cost of the estate, plans were made for a prompt opening of the school. Concerning the purchase of the old Carbondale College site it was written, "They [the Christians] have a good brick building two stories high, with a basement finished

¹George Washington Smith, *A History of Southern Illinois* (Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, 1912; 3 volumes). Chapter XXXIII, Volume II is devoted to a brief history of this College.

off so as to make it really three stories high, and sixty by forty feet. It can be arranged so as to accommodate three hundred students with the ordinary academy advantages. The upper story has been furnished, and is the pleasantest school-room in this region. Attached to the building is thirty acres of land — about twelve around the building being a beautiful grove, affording one of the best starts for a college *campus* we have ever seen."

Although the interested parties had little time to put their recently acquired plant in order or to advertise the opening of the institution, it was decided to commence with a fall term in 1866. Eight days only were available for the publicizing of the enterprise and when, on October 1, 1866, the school opened, merely five students appeared. The small enrollment, plus the lack of repairs to the college property, induced the recently chosen president, Clark Braden, M.A., of Centralia, to postpone sessions for a week. When the second start was made eight pupils showed up, but before the fall term ended, Southern Illinois College had forty-four persons matriculated.² Late registration seems to have been a habit in the early history of the school and it was a major source of annoyance to President Braden. When the college was grooming itself for its winter term Braden used every opportunity to impress upon prospective students the need of prompt registration. He used the newspapers extensively to preach this punctuality. One of his charges which appeared in *The New Era*, the weekly paper of Carbondale, four days before the winter session opened, read thus:

To the Pupils of the College—

All of our pupils of last term know how much we were hindered by pupils coming in late in the

²It is probable that an even larger enrollment would have been enjoyed from the beginning had not Egypt been cursed "by the failure of the crops and the scarcity of money consequent."

term. We could not organize some classes for weeks, and had to reorganize others, and were hindered in all, by pupils coming in late. We could easily have accomplished one half more than we did, had every pupil been present the first day.

There were reasons for this irregularity last fall; but we cannot see that there can be any this winter. All can, by making a little exertion, be present the first day. Then they can call for such classes as they want, select others, and begin with all their classes.

Let every pupil from the country come Monday, January 7, and let all be ready to commence on the next day. Be there to help us organize. If all stay away till "the school gets started," we will never get started.³

President Braden inserted the same clarion for punctuality in his regular newspaper advertising for the college, and devoted an entire paragraph to the necessity of a good start. Among other things the college advertising said, "When students come in after the term has commenced, they lose their time and are a drag to their classes. Let us see all, then, the first day, present and ready to begin together." The urgings of the president were not particularly fruitful. On the first day of the winter term sixty students appeared, while almost twenty others registered late. Perhaps the exigencies of travel were partly responsible for the tardy registration for the editor of the town paper in speaking of the incoming students commented, "Nearly, or quite one-half of these, we are told, are from a distance." On the day that the college opened for its second term two passenger trains collided at Makanda, a town south of Carbondale. "Both engines were badly used up," wrote the reporter, "but no other considerable damage was done!" A train wreck undoubtedly could be a good excuse for tardiness to offer by a

³The *New Era*, Carbondale, Illinois, January 3, 1867.

student who did not subscribe to President Braden's views on the merits of punctuality.

In the early days of the college the faculty was small and Braden and his wife bore the principal burdens of instruction. As the enrollment grew, however, the teaching staff was increased. Whatever may be said of Braden, the man apparently was interested in sound scholarship and he had a passionate belief that the Southern Illinois College could be a tremendous boon to the lower end of the state. In its early history the institution had at least three courses of study. One was entitled, "Common English Branches," and herein the student was offered spelling, reading, penmanship, geography, grammar, American history, and "intellectual and practical arithmetic." A more advanced course was called, "Higher English Branches," and the curriculum included advanced arithmetic, physical geography, English analysis, natural philosophy, physiology, universal history, bookkeeping, science of government, rhetoric, algebra, and "geography of the heavens." In the third section of the curriculum were the languages, Greek and Latin. The classical influences of the old line eastern colleges were clearly felt in the higher education of Egypt in the last half of the nineteenth century. Tuition at the Southern Illinois College varied. Six dollars a term paid for the first-named course of study, but ten dollars was the fee for those who elected the ancient languages.

As time elapsed the curriculum of the college was widened. In the spring of 1867, modern languages, French and German, were added and a three dollar special fee was charged for each one chosen. Greater stress was now to be placed upon the elementary work which the college offered and this was put in charge of Mrs. Braden. With reference to the primary work prospective students were assured, "the same thorough instruction and

discipline will be carried out in it that has been exacted in the school in other rooms."

As the college started its second year, painting and drawing were added to the list of studies. Likewise greater attention was to be given to music, which apparently had been instituted as part of the curriculum late during the first year that the school was in operation. Two teachers, Miss H. C. Campbell and Professor A. D. Fillmore, were named to give the musical instruction. The latter became one of the important members of the faculty and his talents were frequently lauded in the community. Once he was alluded to as "one of the best vocalists in the United States."

Braden saw that the training of school teachers could be a useful and profitable phase of work of the college. Southern Illinois was acutely suffering from a paucity of competent teachers for the ordinary schools and the college set about to do work in the realm of professional education. The president announced, "We will organize teachers' classes for the purpose of drilling those who desire to prepare for teaching. In them we will impart instruction on the organization, classification, and government of schools, the best method of teaching the various branches, and give careful and thorough drills and reviews of these branches." That this program was successful is indicated by Braden's estimate that "our Normal Department or Teachers Class" sent out over two hundred teachers in its first two years. If Braden's figures are reliable, then the majority of those who enrolled in the Southern Illinois College were prospective teachers. Many of them became skilled teachers and Braden announced that their "success is our best recommendation."

Curriculum expansion was continued as the college opened for its third year. Major additions in the fall of 1868, were courses in Bible and bookkeeping. The educa-

tion department was given even greater emphasis, and a special class "for those who wish to prepare for preaching"⁴ was started.

Religious teaching in a denominational college might tend to make some suspicious that the school would become an agency for proselyting to the faith of the Christian Church. Such an opinion might discourage those of other religions from attending. As early as 1867, Braden assured those of other denominations that the work of the Southern Illinois College would never prove offensive to them. He announced, "It is true, that the Christian Churches have control of the school, but they can reap none of the advantages . . . to a greater extent than any one else. We never expect to teach our tenets to the school at large. In the ordinary school classes, we do not design that our pupils should ever learn our religious or political views. We will teach the former in our Bible classes and lectures to such as may desire to listen to them."

President Braden took a personal interest in every phase of the college. Even the room and board accommodations for students were matters of major concern to him. He assured prospective students that board could be obtained reasonably in Carbondale, and dwelt on what he always referred to as "self-boarding." The president, himself, had a list of places where the student could room and prepare his own meals. Living in such fashion could be done with the utmost economy. As Braden said, "Parents can furnish their children with the same that would support them at home, and the only outlay of money will be the cost of books, room rent, and tuition." It is worthy of mention that the light-housekeeping of many impoverished students during the current depression was extensively engaged in by the students of the Southern Illinois College two generations ago. Four women stu-

⁴*Ibid.*, August 19, 1868.

dents were accommodated at the dining table of the Braden family each term. With the campaign to provide economical living conditions for the students successful, the college could announce, "The expenses of our school are less than those of any school in our vicinity."

Working for the permanency of the college became an obsession with Clark Braden. He was appreciative of the value of publicity and early in his administration he gained the support of John Barton, the editor of the Carbondale *New Era*. Barton appears to have had a real interest in education, especially higher education for Carbondale, and he was generous with the donation of space in his paper. Hardly an issue appeared but what the Southern Illinois College received some sort of notice. Journalistic practices of the period did not prohibit the editorializing of the news, and Barton always indulged in the complimenting of Braden and the school. Braden was a frequent contributor to the town weekly and wrote huge, and sometimes convincing articles on education. Indeed, for weeks the two principal subjects treated in the *New Era* were the college and the advisability of nominating John A. Logan as Republican candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The latter, incidentally, was a most cherished desire of Editor Barton.

It was this emphasis upon the college and Logan that engendered one of the numerous Egyptian newspaper controversies of the period. The Salem *Advocate*, Louis V. Taft, editor, was believed to be a Copperhead paper and in political sympathies it differed mightily from the *New Era*. In 1867, the Salem paper published this paragraph, "This place [Carbondale] is now noted for two things as being the residence of Gen. John A. Logan and possessing the location of the Southern Illinois College. Whether the former adds to it any credit we very much doubt, but that the latter does we are well satisfied. We attended the

commencement exercises of this institution last week, which closed the first college year of its existence, and there beheld ample evidence that Southern Illinois has now an institution of learning of which her people need not be ashamed, and which they will in the course of a few years be eminently proud of."

Barton was disturbed by this and in his columns shot back the following reply to the Salem editor, "Whether he intends to benefit or injure the College we do not know. It is well known to all that Southern Illinois is not a political institution, yet this notice thereof coupled with a low fling at General Logan, would lead the public to believe that it is a 'Democratic' institution. Such an impression to become general, the College would starve to death in its infancy. We hope, for the good of the College, Southern Illinois newspapers will leave out politics in noticing this institution of learning, or remain silent."

Undaunted by journalistic controversies, President Braden continued to stress the newspapers as a medium for publicity. He realized that one of his tasks was to "sell" the college to the people. This was best started on a local basis, so one of the President's outstanding contributions to the *New Era* was a long article revealing what the Southern Illinois College could do for the town of Carbondale. In the mind of Braden there were nine contributions which his school could make: (1) "mental and moral culture and elevation of her youth;" (2) more students will have higher education than if the youth of the community must be sent away to school; (3) "powerful influence such an institution always exerts for temperance, morality, order, and religion;" (4) intellectual recreation for the people of the town; (5) "... persons of means, standing, and refinement will be attracted to the vicinity of such an institution . . . Such persons will add to the population, wealth, and prosperity of our city;"

(6) increase in property values; (7) "a successful school attracts business and capital to a place;" (8) the intelligence and enterprise of the "surrounding country" will be increased; (9) "the school will give name and reputation to the city."⁵ It is apparent that Braden was shrewd enough to stress economic advantages, along with the cultural, in his campaign to promote support for his college.

Despite President Braden's emphasis upon scholarship, the college never ignored the social or recreational phase of campus life. The institution followed the general collegiate trends of the nineteenth century in its extra-curricular program. Athletics seem to have been ignored, while literary societies and debates constituted the bulk of the recreational program. The townspeople were always invited to these functions and on several occasions capacity audiences, including visitors from a distance, attended the presentations of the school. Even final examinations were public.⁶ Braden had the notion that the quality of the work of his college would best be revealed if the public sat in on the tests. To this end he announced, "As a warranty of what we do in our work, we invite all to attend our examinations . . . They can then see and judge for themselves." Once more Editor Barton rushed to support the educator and anent the tests wrote, "We appeal to all having an interest in the institutions of the town to attend, and encourage Brother Braden and lady in their endeavors toward building up a first class school in our midst. We promise all a pleasant and entertaining session if they will attend." To make the finals more palatable a series of orations and readings was interspersed in the examination program. All in all the tests of the college seem to have been impressive and the public

⁵*Ibid.*, June 6, 1867.

⁶Examinations usually were two day affairs at the college and were held during the afternoon and evening.

felt that the classes examined "did remarkably well."

Literary societies flourished on the Southern Illinois College campus. At least three of them, the Philomathesian, Mathesian, and Campbell societies existed. Every now and then programs of essays, declamations, and debates would be presented before large crowds of students and townspeople. One of the lively debates saw the arguing of the question, "Is a monarchial the most stable form of government?" If the debate had been deferred three years the negative side could have bolstered its position by citing the example of the downfall of Louis Napoleon in France.

Spelling contests were another favorite diversion for the students. Such contests lasted a month each. One was held in the spring of 1867, when the students of the "higher departments" divided themselves into two groups. One was headed by Josie Sanders, the other by H. B. Hamilton. The Hamilton crowd lost and was compelled to furnish a treat not only for the victors, but for the entire college. The treat came in the form of a "strawberry supper." An observer wrote, "The pleasant little affair came off last Thursday evening, in the College grounds, and was participated in by all the pupils. After partaking of the delicacies, the pupils engaged in a short season of innocent amusement, when all separated pleased and happy."⁷

One journalistic adventure was attempted by the students and the women took the initiative. A college paper bearing the impossible title, *Young Ladies' Friend* was established. Reputedly it was "devoted to the interests of Southern Illinois College." Six students produced the paper which despite favorable advance publicity proved to be a financial failure. The editor of the *New Era* who apparently secured the contract for printing the school

⁷*New Era*, June 6, 1867.

paper and hence would not be too critical of his job printing customers wrote, "We will do the young ladies the justice to say that the pieces are very good, plainly written, the words correctly spelled, and the punctuation and capitalizing fair."⁸

Scholarship, advertising, and a pleasant extra-curricular program failed to help Braden. His college faced financial difficulties which were too great to overcome. To hasten the failure of the venture the legislature of the state voted to establish the Southern Illinois State Normal University at Carbondale. Braden could not compete with a state institution. A state normal school had been advocated in many parts of Egypt. There is irony in the fact that in the early summer of 1868, over one hundred school teachers, principals, and superintendents held a meeting at the Southern Illinois College to discuss the advisability of erecting a normal school in the lower part of the state. Braden was present at this meeting and to his credit it must be said that he favored a legislative appropriation for a teacher training school in Egypt. Perhaps he hoped for a position in the new school; perhaps he thought the state would take over his plant. At any rate he was present and took a leading part in the discussions. With respect to this meeting it was reported, "there was but one sentiment entertained, and that was that Southern Illinois must have a Normal University. In the expression of this sentiment the speakers were applauded in a manner that showed that Egypt is alive to her interests, and determined to have her rights." And so, indirectly at least, Clark Braden's college helped to contribute to its own collapse.

⁸*Ibid.*, November 7, 1867.

HISTORICAL NOTE

THE ULSTER COUNTY GAZETTE

Before me lie seven newspaper clippings. Each is from an Illinois paper of recent date, and each announces the discovery of a rare and valuable historical document. In each case, moreover, the document is the same — a copy of the *Ulster County Gazette*, Kingston, New York, for January 4, 1800.

On the face of things, these discoveries certainly deserve mention. Newspapers are printed for the day only and, except for the few libraries which make a point of preserving files, are discarded almost immediately. One need only try to find a copy of his local paper of six months ago to be impressed with the apparent miracle of the survival of a sheet issued in 1800. But this particular paper is not merely old, for among other quaint and interesting material it contains a notice of the funeral of George Washington and a poem, "by a young lady," on the death of the first President. Surely here is something almost, if not entirely, unique.

At least, so one would think. Unfortunately, the odds that one would be wrong are overwhelming. For at least seventy-five different reproductions, totalling approximately one million copies, have been made, while only one original is known to exist, and that was not discovered until four years ago.

The *Ulster County Gazette* was founded at Kingston, New York, in 1798 and issued, under slightly varying titles, until 1822. A few scattered issues have been pre-

served in various libraries, and even before the discovery of a genuine copy for January 4, 1800, scholars were sure that an original for that date must once have existed. None came to light, however, until 1930, when the Library of Congress obtained copies of the *Gazette* for December 28, 1799, January 4 and 11, 1800. Comparison of paper and type proved conclusively that the issue for January 4, 1800, was a genuine original.

The distinguishing characteristics of an original, according to the Library of Congress, are as follows:

1. It should be printed on the paper used in 1800, handmade from rags, soft, pliable and rough in texture.

2. This paper should have as watermarks throughout, slender parallel lines $1\frac{1}{16}$ to $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches apart.

3. Title in italic capitals should measure $6\frac{1}{16}$ inches in length.

4. Print should show the blurred edges of hand inked, hand press work.

5. The second column on page 1 should measure $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width between rules, and $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length.

6. The old style "s" should appear frequently as in the words "Published," and "Ulster" in the heading, and in the words "President," "House," "Representatives," and many more in the text.

7. The last line of page 1, column 1, should read "liberal execution of the treaty of amity."

8. One full-length mourning slug should appear on page 1, column 2; 2 full-length and 5 short slugs on page 2; and 2 full-length slugs on page 3.

9. Mourning rules should be used between columns and across top and bottom and along outer edge of pages 2 and 3.

10. The "Last Notice" on page 3, column 2, concerns "the estate of johannis Jansen," and should be signed by "Johannis I. Jansen."

When were the reprints made, and why? Neither ques-

tion can be fully answered. There is reason to believe that the first reprint was made in the old *Gazette* office — then publishing a different newspaper — in 1825, and probably another edition was struck off in 1848, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Gazette*. During the Centennial Exposition of 1876, several printings were made and hundreds of thousands of copies sold. Reprints were made as recently as 1923. The frequency with which copies turn up in Illinois may be due to the fact that two editions were made in Decatur — one of 4,000 in 1904, and another of several thousand made in 1906, by a negro tramp printer who sold them to merchants to place in goods sold by them.

The story of the *Ulster County Gazette* is one of the most interesting by-paths in American history. Numerous papers on the subject have appeared, but none is more complete nor more authoritative than an article by R. W. G. Vail which appeared in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April, 1930. When a genuine *Gazette* was discovered later in the same year, Mr. Vail published a supplementary article in the *Bulletin* for April, 1931. This note is merely an abstract of these two able and interesting papers. Readers who wish to consult Mr. Vail's articles, but who do not have access to the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, can secure a reprint of both articles from the New York Public Library. The title is "The Ulster County Gazette and Its Illegitimate Offspring," and the price is 30c — a very small sum for a very able piece of research.

PAUL M. ANGLE.

Springfield, Illinois.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Historically speaking, one of the most interesting events of the past summer was the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the first permanent Norwegian settlement in America. (This settlement was described by Mr. Carlton C. Qualey under the title, "The Fox River Norwegian Settlement," in the July number of the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.)

The celebration, which centered at Ottawa, lasted for three days. On Friday, June 22, a number of assemblies at Pleasant View Luther College, Ottawa, opened the program. The following morning was devoted to the unveiling of a tablet at Norway, Illinois, marking the site of the first Norwegian settlement. The tablet was erected under the joint auspices of the Norwegian-American Historical Association and the Illinois State Historical Society. Marshall Solberg of Chicago, who was born almost on the spot where the marker was placed, and Paul M. Angle delivered the principal addresses of the occasion.

After a luncheon in honor of Governor Henry Horner, and a parade of Norwegian Societies, civic organizations and several companies of the Illinois National Guard, visitors and townspeople gathered in the Ottawa High School Auditorium. In opening the program, greetings were extended to Mayor Hilliard of Ottawa, Representative Ole E. Benson and Governor Horner. Addresses were delivered by Wilhelm Morgenstierne, Norwegian Minister to the United States, Arne Kildal of Oslo, Norway, N. A. Grevstad of Chicago, and Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois.

On Saturday evening an historical program was held at Pleasant View Luther College, with addresses by George T. Flom of the University of Illinois, G. M. Bruce of St. Paul, Minn., and Joseph M. Johnson of Chicago.

Sunday, June 24, was given over to divine services, in Ottawa in the morning, and at Norway in the afternoon. Music was furnished by the St. Olaf Lutheran Choir. At other times during the celebration the Grieg Male Chorus of Chicago, the Mooseheart Illinois Band and a number of soloists provided music.

The observances, planned by a committee under the chairmanship of Judge J. J. Sonstebj of Chicago, were eminently successful, attracting hundreds if not thousands, not only from Illinois but from many other states and Norway as well.

Among the Illinois cities celebrating centennials during the summer was Glen Ellyn, twenty-two miles west of Chicago in DuPage County. Devoting most of the second week in June to the observances, the program was featured by a garden show, a pet and doll buggy parade, an art exhibit and choral concert. On June 13, former Senator Charles S. Deneen, delivered the centennial address, and the final event, on June 15, was an historical pageant.

As a result of the interest aroused in its history by Sterling's centennial celebration, a movement to mark the house where Abraham Lincoln was once a guest has been started. Lincoln spoke in Sterling on July 18, 1856, at a Fremont rally held there on that date. He was entertained at the Manahan home, which is still standing at 609 E. Third St. Present plans are to place a bronze plaque on a boulder in the city parkway near the house.

One of the most important Lincoln discoveries in years — a copy of William Dean Howells' *Life of Lincoln* corrected and annotated by Lincoln himself — was announced in the June Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield.

The book in question is the property of Samuel C. Parks, Jr., of Cody, Wyoming. It originally belonged to his father, Samuel C. Parks, who lived in Lincoln, Illinois, and was a personal and political friend of Abraham Lincoln. In the summer of 1860, Parks took the book to Springfield and asked Lincoln to correct any errors by means of marginal notes. This Lincoln did. Consequently, this particular volume becomes a sourcebook of unique importance. Lincoln himself wrote two autobiographical sketches, but the Howells' biography is much longer and more detailed than either of these, and therefore, in its authenticated form, much more important.

The Bulletin in which this discovery is announced is devoted to an interesting article by Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, in which the effect of the discovery upon current conceptions of Lincoln is evaluated.

The Lincoln Group of Chicago has made two excursions during the past few months. On June 9, thirty members of the group visited Danville, where they were entertained at luncheon and where they visited numerous places associated with the life of Lincoln, as well as the home of "Uncle Joe" Cannon.

On September 22-23 the Group visited Springfield and New Salem. The first day was given over to a tour of places of Lincoln interest in the capital, including the Lincoln Home, the Lincoln Tomb, the Old State House, and the Illinois State Historical Library. The second day

of the trip was devoted to the restored village of New Salem, Petersburg, and the old Concord Cemetery where Ann Rutledge and other inhabitants of New Salem were originally buried.

On Sunday, June 10, the site of the first settlement in Stephenson County was marked with appropriate ceremonies by Sprague Inman Post No. 577 of the American Legion. More than 500 persons, many from considerable distances, were in attendance.

In 1832, William Waddams erected a log cabin in West Point Township four miles northwest of Lena. Mr. C. B. Shoesmith of Lena, who has long been interested in the history of northwestern Illinois, was largely instrumental in inducing the American Legion to mark the site. An imposing granite marker now stands on the site where Waddams' cabin was built more than a century ago.

The Madison County Historical Society is one of the most active organizations of its kind in the state. On June 30, at a meeting in Edwardsville, Mrs. W. F. Coolidge of Granite City, read a paper on "The Illinois River" and Col. M. A. Reasoner of Alton, spoke on "The St. Louis Arsenal." Later in the summer the society joined in an old settlers' reunion and homecoming at Haskell Park, Alton. The next meeting is to be held on Saturday, December 1, in the Public Library at Granite City, Illinois.

The Woodford County Historical Society held its annual potluck luncheon on August 30, at the farm of its president, L. J. Freese, near Eureka. More than 200 were present. Miss Emma J. Scott, Washington, Tazewell County, read a paper on the "Underground Railway,"

and Amos Marshall of Eureka, spoke on the subject, "Longaway and Farago." Songs were sung to the accompaniment of the first organ brought to the neighborhood. On display throughout the day were many interesting relics from Mr. Freese's collection.

The annual meeting of the McLean County Historical Society was held in Bloomington on June 8. After a musical program, Mr. Jacob L. Hasbrook read a paper on "Prominent People and Celebrities of Bloomington and McLean County." A review of the society's activities for the past year was presented by Mrs. A. Y. Barnard, Secretary.

In recent issues the *Belleville News Democrat* has devoted much space to two subjects of historical interest. One is Kaskaskia — the site of the second permanent settlement in the state, the seat of territorial government, and the first state capitol; the other is the location of the old Kaskaskia-Vincennes trail.

Throughout the eighteenth century, and for some years at the beginning of the nineteenth, Kaskaskia was the most important town in Illinois. But after the removal of the capital to Vandalia, its decline commenced. Severe floods struck blows from which it could not recover, and finally, in 1881, the Mississippi broke through the narrow strip of land separating it from the Kaskaskia and swept away most of what remained of the old town. Today the width of the Mississippi separates Kaskaskia from the rest of Illinois. For many years the site of the town was inundated, but recently the river has been building mud flats along its western shore, so that now all, or nearly all, of the location of old Kaskaskia is again above water.

Isolated from the balance of the state, Kaskaskia Island

and its inhabitants have not received the attention which their position in the history of Illinois deserves. The *News Democrat* pleads for the termination of neglect, and recognition of this historic community—a plea which should receive the support of everyone mindful of the past and its contribution to the present.

Interest aroused in Kaskaskia has led to considerable discussion of the location of the old trail from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. Any reader of the *Journal* possessing information on this subject is requested to communicate with the Belleville *News Democrat* or Dr. Harold I. Meyer, Secretary, The Chicago Egyptian Club, 104 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

By official action of the United States Geographic Board, on March 1, 1933, Du Quoin, instead of Duquoin, becomes the official name of the Perry County city. The action taken brings the spelling in accord with that used locally, as well as in the act of incorporation.

To avoid confusion with Crooked Creek, which enters the Kaskaskia River below Carlyle, the Board also changed the name of the Illinois River tributary which, in Warren, McDonough, Schuyler, Hancock and Brown counties has been known variously as Crooked Creek, Crooked Fork and East Fork, to the La Moine River.

Since the last number of the *Journal*, the deaths of the following members of the Society have been reported: William H. Jackson, Toulon, Illinois; James Langland, Chicago, Illinois; William R. Sandham, Wyoming, Illinois, and Lewis F. Thomas of Polo.

HISTORICAL NEWS

CONTRIBUTORS

Blaine Brooks Gernon is a Chicago lawyer whose major interest, aside from his profession, is the life of Abraham Lincoln. He is President of the Chicago Lincoln Group. Philip D. Jordan is assistant professor of philosophy at Long Island University. C. A. Darnell is a lawyer of Plano, Illinois, and a member of the Darnell family in whose honor Fort Darnell was named. Richard L. Beyer is a member of the faculty of the Southern Illinois State Normal University at Carbondale.

THE PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL AND COACH ROAD AND THE PEORIA NEIGHBORHOOD

By

PERCIVAL GRAHAM RENNICK

While the Peoria and Galena Trail and its companion way, the Peoria and Galena Coach Road, started from the square in Peoria bounded by Liberty Street, Washington Street, Fulton Street and the river, and in 1825 passed through the Northampton hills and on to Dixon and Galena, there is much earlier history connected with this end of the trail and all along the route. Before we leave the city we will pass up Adams Street to the site of Old Peoria's Fort and Village at the foot of Caroline Street. There was a village of the Peoria tribe of the Illinois Indians on that site when Jolliet and Marquette, after they had made the journey from Michilimackinac, came up the Illinois in August 1673. There was a village there before 1673 and there was a village there as late as 1763. During its early days the missionary fathers spoke of it as the Mission des Detroit and also as the mission of the Peoria Indians. Later it was called Old Peoria's Fort and Village. Without any dispute, at this point is the beginning of the history of the white man in the county of Peoria, the Illinois valley and the state of Illinois. The spot where Jolliet and Marquette and their boatmen landed in 1673 and Père Marquette baptised a dying Indian child, cannot be omitted from any history of this region. The spot in Illinois where the first white men beached their boats, must be Illinois history.

We will remember that Marquette continued up the Illinois to the Great Town near old Utica, and visited the Indians there; and that he returned to preach to them in 1675. We know of this voyage from the letter Marquette wrote to his Superior, Dablon, at Quebec, and from the information given to Dablon and Frontenac and La Salle and others by Jolliet when he made his trip through the lakes and up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and finally to Quebec. It is true that Jolliet lost his maps and notes in passing the rapids near Montreal, but he had already shown them to La Salle; and undoubtedly he was able to give information of his entire voyage of discovery, including his visit to the village on the Peoria lake.

The Indians at Peoria and the Indians at the Great Village visited each other and were constantly passing up and down the Illinois River in canoes and over the trails on both sides of this stream.

La Salle arrived above the Narrows on the evening of January 4, 1680, and when he "rounded the point" early on the winter morning of January 5, as told by Father Hennepin, he saw a camp of Illinois Indians and then the Indian village at which Jolliet and Marquette had stopped on their way up the Illinois.

The stories of those days are well known to every reader of history; but it is well to recall the visit to this village by Monso immediately after the arrival of La Salle. He came in the "night time" carrying a message that La Salle was in league with the Iroquois. We will not stop to discuss the probable source of this message or the well-established fact that it was not true. We know that while La Salle's boldness in confronting the chiefs and denying the story gained the friendship of at least some of the leaders of the tribe, some of his men deserted and others believed that the Indians would finally attack them.

CREVECOEUR

On January 15, 1680, La Salle and Tonti went down the river to select a site for a fort, one in which they might protect themselves from the Indians. It is not part of the history of Peoria, yet the story of the building of Fort Crevecoeur was a great event in the history of this valley as well as in the history of the French occupation. We know that Colbert and Frontenac and La Salle had advocated the building of forts from Fort Frontenac to New Orleans to keep the English out of the newly discovered territory. Fort Crevecoeur was not only the fourth fort built for the purpose agreed upon, but it was hurriedly built for the protection of La Salle and his companions on their first voyage to this vicinity. The building of Fort Frontenac was known to every member of the court of France and to a large number of people in every country of Europe. They knew of the building of the second and third forts, Niagara and Miami, and soon the building of Fort Crevecoeur was heralded to the world. Hennepin and Aco and the Picard du Gay were sent from Fort Crevecoeur down the Illinois and up the Mississippi to explore the territory near the source of that stream. We also remember that La Salle and his companions went a thousand miles on foot from Fort Crevecoeur to Canada; and that Tonti had gone to The Rock to begin the building of a fort which, after some obstacles, became Fort St. Louis. After Tonti had left, the men remaining at Fort Crevecoeur mutinied and partially destroyed the fort, and wrote upon a broken plank, "Nous Sommes tous sauvages ce 15 A — 1680." Nothing remains of this old fort, yet the site has been marked by the state of Illinois. Thousands of visitors cross the bridge from Peoria and turn right at the four corners in East Peoria to Route 24 and continue through "Beason's" Old Trading Post, afterwards

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

called Wesley City and now called Crevecoeur. A short distance farther this Route 24, Illinois State Highway, leads up the hill; and after traveling a little more than a quarter of a mile beyond the top of the hill, this historic spot, the site of old Fort Crevecoeur, comes into view. The state of Illinois has made a park here of a considerable number of acres and placed a marker on the site where the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Illinois Teachers' Association, a committee of historians selected by the legislature, and several other committees, have decided was the site upon which Fort Crevecoeur was erected. If those who visit this park will look up and down the river and see the opportunity that the defenders of the fort had to observe approaching Indians from upstream or downstream or from any other direction, they might appreciate the wisdom of La Salle and Tonti in locating a fort on this eminence. The persons who chose The Rock near the old Indian town of Kaskaskia on the upper Illinois River, as a "splendid site for a fort," were the same persons who chose the site for Fort Crevecoeur.

OLD PEORIA'S FORT AND VILLAGE

There is no evidence of a settlement or colony around Fort Crevecoeur but there is ample proof from Marquette's letter and the communications of the missionaries, to leave no doubt as to the location of the Indian village near the head of Peoria Lake. Hennepin in his "A Description of Louisiana" speaks of the same village and from the context we know that it was not far distant from the "point" near the Narrows. St. Cosmé speaks of coming down the Illinois "four days from old Fort St. Louis" to Fort Permavevi to a mission where they met Father Marest and Father Pinet. He also speaks of this loca-

tion being on Lake Pimitoui which leaves little or no doubt that St. Cosmé is speaking of the old Indian village near the head of the lake.

Reverend Jacques Gravier, successor to Allouez, made a trip down the Illinois and on February 16, 1701 wrote to Father De Lamberville from near the Gulf of Mexico, stating that he arrived too late at the "Illinois Detroit of which Father Marest has charge to prevent the transmigration of the Kaskaskias, . . . the Peouroua whom I left without a missionary, have promised me that they would preserve the church," etc.

Father Marest had been the missionary at the Detroit or the Narrows or the Strait, and on April 29, 1699, wrote to another missionary of his order, describing the village as being one-half league in length with a chapel at each end.

In his letter of March 2, 1706, Father Mermet wrote, "It is bad as regards both spiritual and temporal matters among the Illinois of Detroit where Father Gravier nearly lost his life on two occasions, and he is not yet out of danger."

On November 9, 1712, Marest wrote Father German, "previously I was in the large village of the Peorias, where Father Gravier, who had returned there for the second time, received a wound which caused his death."

In October, 1721, Father Charlevoix made a voyage down the Illinois and found a village on the west bank of this river. His description is a description of the old French village of Peoria. He calls the village Pimetoui and states that the Peorias were at war with the neighboring tribes and that he found four Frenchmen living with the Indians.

The grant to Renault by the French government in 1723 contained among other descriptions: "One league in front at Pimetoui on the river Illinois facing the East and ad-

joining the lake bearing the name of the village," etc. In ceding the Illinois country to England there is included in the description, a French village on the west bank of Lake Peoria about one-half league from the foot of the lake, or the outlet. The distance from the outlet to the beginning of the Narrows is about one league or three miles, and Old Peoria's Fort and Village was located about an equal distance from the foot of the lake and the Narrows which brings us to the location on the river bank between Caroline and Hayward streets.

Besides letters, government records, and tradition, there is direct oral testimony and "proper deductions from associated facts" to show the location of the old village of the Peorias from 1673 to 1723 and of Old Peoria's Fort and Village from 1763 to 1778. When excavations were made near the river bank between Caroline and Mary streets, many household articles were found, as well as indications of a silversmith shop. There was other evidence of the site of a village.

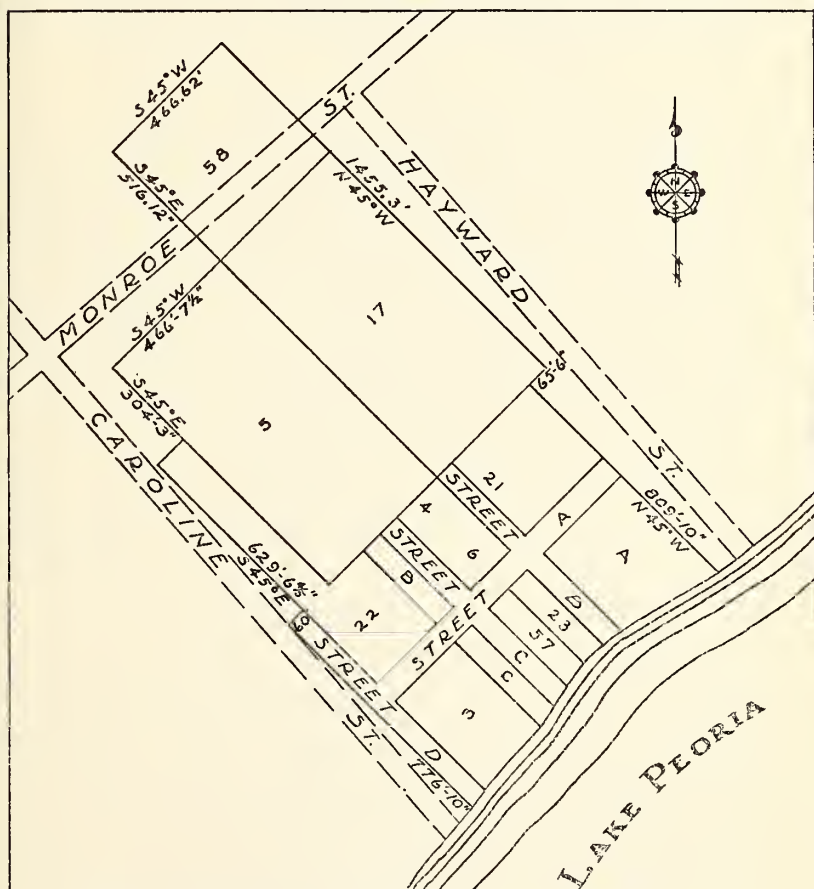
I think it may now be stated, without qualification, that the Peorias were located on the west bank of Peoria Lake between what is now Caroline and Hayward streets and in scattering cabins extending to what was afterwards known as Birkett's Hollow, when Jolliet and Marquette arrived at Lake Pimitoui (Lake Peoria); and that when La Salle, Tonti, Hennepin, Ribourde and Membré and their party came, they arrived at the same village and found in addition to this village the temporary camp of some of the Kaskaskias whom they failed to find in their own village. There is also ample evidence that Old Peoria's Fort and Village was a continuation of the same village or, at least, was built on practically the same site.

We feel justified in tracing the history of these locations, because it was from the Old Peoria's Fort and Village, a mile and a half from the outlet of the lake,

PLAT OF
 OLD VILLAGE OF PEORIA
 LOCATED
 SECTION 3, T8N., R8E. of 4 PM.

—◆—
 DRAWN FROM

SURVEY APPROVED U. S. LAND OFFICE 9-20-1840
 BY MAX E. WEBSTER, COUNTY SURVEYOR, PEO. CO.



Old Peoria's Fort and Village
 Site of Old Indian Village where
 Joliet and Marquette Landed in 1673

DRAWN BY E. BERNARD HULSEBUS - 1934

that Jean Baptiste Maillet came to the new village where the present Liberty Street reaches the river and which led to the coming of the rest of the French residents of the old town. We know that the older village was still in existence in 1763 and we know the new village was in existence in 1778; and it may be that Jean Baptiste Maillet came to the new site before 1778. In any event, in 1778 we have the thriving little French village of La Ville de Maillet far from the settlement of any other white people.

LA VILLE DE MAILLET

It might be testing your patience to tell the story of this little village whose inhabitants, with the exception of the years 1781 to 1783, were at peace with the neighboring Indians. All their personal disputes were settled by the parish priest and all their business disputes were settled in a meeting called by the Syndic. They understood the Indians and the Indians believed the French to be their friends. Although the people of La Ville de Maillet were unlettered, the history available records that they were polite and kindly in their association with each other and that the men and women attending the balls and parties in this little French town were as mannerly and courteous as those in Kaskaskia or Quebec.

For thirty-four years La Ville de Maillet was known to voyageurs, traders and Indians along the entire Illinois River and in St. Louis and Montreal. When a messenger arrived from Fort Chartres to tell the French inhabitants of Old Peoria's Fort and Village that England had taken possession of the Illinois territory, they neither protested nor gave their allegiance to the conquering nation. When George Rogers Clark sent three of his soldiers and two Frenchmen to La Ville de Maillet to tell the inhabitants that they were now citizens of Virginia and under the

MAP OF ~

LA VILLE DE MAILLET

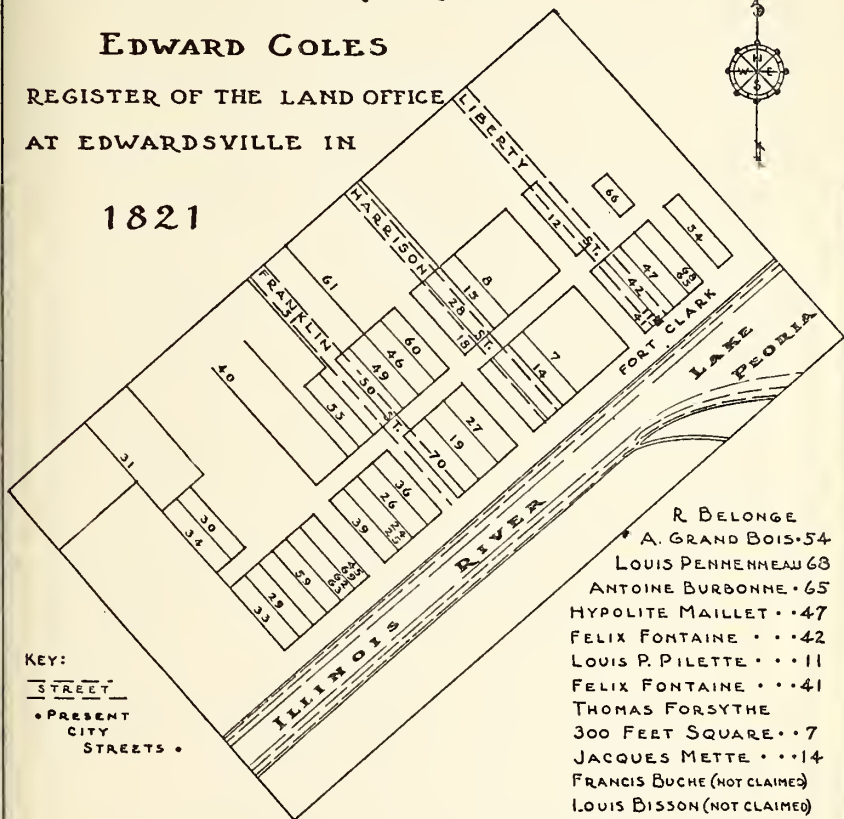
AS SHOWN BY THE REPORT OF

EDWARD COLES

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

AT EDWARDSVILLE IN

1821



KEY:

— STREET —
• PRESENT CITY STREETS •

CLAIMS TO LOTS

CHARLES LA BELLE
OUT-LOT OR FIELD OF
TEN ARPENS. CLAIM No. 61
HYPOLITE MAILLET
OUT-LOT OR FIELD OF
SIX ARPENS. CLAIM No. 51
FRANCIS RACINE, JR.
OUT-LOT OR FIELD OF
THREE OR FOUR ARPENS • 40
SIMON ROI. OUT-LOT OR
FIELD OF SIX ARPENS No. 31
FRANCIS RACINE, SEN.
FIELD OF ABOUT TWENTY
ARPENS.

A. BURBONNE • • • • 66
A. DESCHAMPS
LOUIS P. PILETTE • • 12
THOMAS FORSYTHE
300 FEET SQUARE • 8
JACQUES METTE • • 15
SIMON ROI • • • • 28
PIERRE LAVASSIEUR
DIT CHAMBERLAIN • 18
CHARLES LA BELLE • 60
JOSEPH COUDIER • 46
HYPOLITE MAILLET • 49
HYPOLITE MAILLET • 50
MICHAEL LE CLAIRE • 55
SIMON ROI • • • • 30
ANTOINE ROI • • • • 34

R. BELONGE
• A. GRAND BOIS • 54
LOUIS PENNENNEAU • 68
ANTOINE BURBONNE • 65
HYPOLITE MAILLET • 47
FELIX FONTAINE • • 42
LOUIS P. PILETTE • • 11
FELIX FONTAINE • • 41
THOMAS FORSYTHE
300 FEET SQUARE • 7
JACQUES METTE • • 14
FRANCIS BUCHE (NOT CLAIMED)
LOUIS BISSON (NOT CLAIMED)
MICHAEL LA CROIX • • 27
PIERRE LAVASSIEUR
DIT CHAMBERLAIN • 19
LOUIS PENNENNEAU • 70
FRANCIS RACINE, SEN. 36
ANTOINE LE CLAIRE • 26
THOMAS LUSBY • • 24
ANTOINE LE CLAIRE • 25
FRANCIS RACINE, JR. 39
BAPTISTE RABOIN • 45
LOUIS PENNENNEAU • 69
SIMON BERTRAND • 62
ANTOINE LEPANNIE • 63
JOHN B. BLONDEAU • 59
FRANCIS DUPRE (NOT CLAIMED)
SIMON ROI • • • • 29
ANTOINE ROI • • • • 33

DRAWN BY ~ E. BERNARD HULSEBUS - 1934

control of the American Colonies, they accepted the situation but still remained French. However, when Jean Baptiste Maillet learned that the French king was friendly to the Americans, he raised a company of Rangers to fight for the Colonies.

These citizens of this pioneer village were hunters and trappers and farmers and fishermen. Part of the land back of the town was a common field divided into individual farms and gardens, while another portion was undivided and known as the "commons." Although most of the Indian traders were French, there was at least one English trader located at this point. Because of its connection with Bureau County as well as Peoria County, we should write down here the tale of Paul de Beuro. This young man was a French Canadian of good education who came to La Ville de Maillet to assist in a trading house. He showed great ability in learning the Indian dialects and became very friendly with all the Pottawatomies along the Illinois river. His acquaintance grew to such an extent that he concluded to begin business for himself, and built a double cabin at Hickory Point in the present Bureau County, not far from the mouth of Bureau Creek. He married the daughter of Waba, the Indian chief whose village was on Lake Depue opposite the present village of that name. Because of the marriage, his genial nature and his proficiency in the use of the dialects, nearly all of the tribes of the upper Illinois came to De Beuro's cabin to trade, or traded with him when he went to their villages. This greatly interfered with the traders at Peoria and they attempted to buy his business, but without success. One day, as was his custom, he started two bateaux of furs from his trading house to St. Louis. He came with the boats as far as Senachwine Creek and went ashore with the intention of visiting some of his Indian friends, and

then returning through the forest to his cabin. As days went by without his return, his friends sent out a searching party, which finally found his body along the trail to his village, partly devoured by wolves. After much inquiry it was concluded that an English trader in Peoria had hired a worthless Kickapoo to kill De Beuro and thus eliminate the competition. His Indian friends knew that several of the merchants at La Ville de Maillet had attempted to buy his business, but suspicion pointed only to the English trader and the Kickapoo as the criminals. The Indians came in large numbers to demand the surrender of the murderers; but they were finally convinced that the Kickapoo who committed the murder, and the Englishman, were no longer in the village, having left the country never to return. Hickory Point is largely a memory. The cabin is gone and the timber upon the Point has been cut away, but its tragic story is still fresh in the memory of many of the people of the Illinois valley. Though differently spelled, the name of this French Canadian trader is preserved in the name of the county of Bureau and that of the largest creek that runs through that prosperous county.

Among the other tragedies in this happy little French village were the Indian depredations of 1781 and 1783. If it had not been for this interruption, the inhabitants of La Ville de Maillet would have had thirty-four years of peaceful existence. They received little or no mail and very few, if any, could have read a letter had one been received. Yet through the traders and voyageurs, they heard of the doings in Quebec and Paris. They had many blessings. The streams were full of fish and the forests and prairies abounded in game. But their greatest misfortune, their greatest tragedy, was the destruction of their village in 1812.

Believing that the French on Lake Peoria were in

league with the red men, Governor Edwards planned an energetic campaign against all the Indians in that vicinity. He took personal command of an expedition across the prairies to the east bank of the Illinois River, and burned the village of Black Partridge near the Big Spring, a few miles above the Narrows. The saddest part of this story is that Black Partridge was carrying a ransom, raised among the inhabitants of La Ville de Maillet, to the captors of Lieutenant Helm while Governor Edwards was burning his village and killing his people.

This was not the only tragedy of 1812. It was a tragic year for the pioneer settlers in the Illinois country as well as for the citizens of the United States of America on the Atlantic coast. It was in the fall of 1812 that Governor Edwards sent Captain Craig and his men up the river in keel boats to inquire as to the conditions at the "seditious" city of La Ville de Maillet; but instead of making inquiries, Craig burned the village, kidnapped the inhabitants and killed their cattle. The fact that Craig broke into the store of Felix La Fontaine and took two casks of wine, to which the officers and men helped themselves, might furnish some reason for his savage conduct. All the inhabitants, save those who escaped to the timber, were taken down the river and landed in an unsettled district in freezing weather with no provisions and little clothing. This was the end of La Ville de Maillet. There is material here for the writing of a drama. There is history of pioneer life.

We know much about the French village from the son of Nicholas Smith, one of the soldiers of George Rogers Clark, who came in 1778 to notify the inhabitants that they were no longer under English rule. This son, Joseph Smith, who was afterwards affectionately known as "Dad Joe," had listened many times to his father's descriptions of the beauties of the Illinois River and the woodlands

and prairies through which it flowed; to tales of the little French village he had visited and how kindly he had been received. When Joseph grew to manhood, he concluded to visit this land of which he had heard so much. "Dad Joe" came soon after the original settlers arrived at Fort Clark, and, because of his genial nature, became one of the best known men in the territory north of the Illinois River. The descriptions of La Ville de Maillet as told to "Dad Joe" by his father, Nicholas Smith, were retold to the old settlers. As "Dad Joe" lived in the new village of Peoria and was one of the first county commissioners and still later helped to survey the Peoria and Galena road, when the legislature had made this trail a state road, and kept a house of entertainment on the Galena road near the northern boundary of Bureau County, and changed the old trail to pass by his cabin, the story of the Peoria and Galena road could not be written without mentioning him several times.

While the year 1812 was a year of tragedies in Illinois because of the Fort Dearborn massacre, the burning of Black Partridge's village, and the kidnapping of the inhabitants of La Ville de Maillet, yet the following year had its tragedies also.

In 1813 Governor Howard started from Fort Russell, crossed the Illinois River and came up the west side to the site of this old French village. Soldiers had been sent ahead to build a stockade at this point, and when General Howard arrived he stopped here for a few days and then marched up the Peoria and Galena road, across Dickison Creek, and then along the river to the site of Chillicothe, where he burned the village of Gomo. About the same time, Lt. William Clark, on his way to Missouri to take Howard's place as Governor, turned aside at Metamora to attack Black Partridge, who, since the burning of his village, had become an enemy of the white

man. This journey of Lieutenant Clark becomes part of our story because the fort was completed at the site of the old French village and named Fort Clark in his honor. Lieutenant Clark held several positions of trust under the United States government. Outside of his services in the Lewis and Clark expedition and his services to which we have just referred, he would have been an historical character because he was the brother of George Rogers •Clark.

For several years the site of the old French village and the country around it was known as the Fort Clark country. Gurdon Hubbard tells us of the traders along the river and some trips made to Fort Clark. On this site we have La Ville de Maillet in 1778, Fort Clark in 1813 and the foundation of the village of Peoria in 1819.

FORT CLARK AND THE VILLAGE OF PEORIA

It was in April, 1819, that Abner Eads, a New Yorker, Joseph Hersey, Seth Fulton and Josiah Fulton, Virginians, and Samuel Dougherty, J. Davis and T. Russell, Kentuckians, arrived at the site of old Fort Clark. Two or more of these pioneers had been at Kaskaskia, but in any event, these seven men had stopped for a while at Shoal Creek in Clinton County. They concluded to go farther into the wilderness and arrived at Mauvaise Terre on the Illinois River near the present site of the village of Naples. They had intended to take up land in that vicinity, but having heard from some of the travelers or traders of the beauties of the country around Fort Clark, and the richness of the soil, they concluded to continue their journey to that point. Eads and Hersey came up the west side of the river on horses and arrived at Fort Clark on April 15, 1819. The rest of the party came up in a keel boat and arrived two days later. This was the beginning of the American settlement in the Peoria

neighborhood. About the first of June, Eads, Fulton and Dougherty went to Shoal Creek, where Mrs. Eads and the children still lived, and returned to Peoria by wagon over an old trail that ended at Trading Post, now called Crevecoeur; and with them came the first woman and the first family to the Fort Clark country. When the party arrived at Trading Post the Indians ferried them across the river. The wagon was taken apart and then ferried over in the Indian canoes; but the horses and cattle were made to swim.

About June 10, 1819, Capt. Jude Warner arrived from St. Louis in a keel boat loaded with provisions. His party consisted of Isaac De Boise, James Goff, William Blanchard, David W. Barns, Charles Sargent and Theodore Sargent. They brought a large seine with them and spent the season fishing. When winter came they joined the colony. At this time there was not a white settler within a hundred miles of this village. Other than the road to Fort Clark from the south, which came down through Cole Hollow to the Illinois River, and the Indian trail to the Mississippi River, there was no trail or road known that led to this village, save the one which later became the Peoria and Galena Trail and the Peoria and Galena Coach Road.

The first settlers did not all remain at the Fort Clark site. Some "took up" land near Ten Mile Creek, some on Farm Creek and some on the Mackinaw River. Dillon and Prince gave their names to settlements which still remind us of those early days.

There were no ferries nor bridges and few established fords. When Ossian Ross came up the Illinois River to the mouth of the Spoon as late as 1821, he found a ferry at Beardstown and one at Peoria and no other ferry between. At that time, and much later, there was no ferry above Peoria. From 1819 to 1823, when the present

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

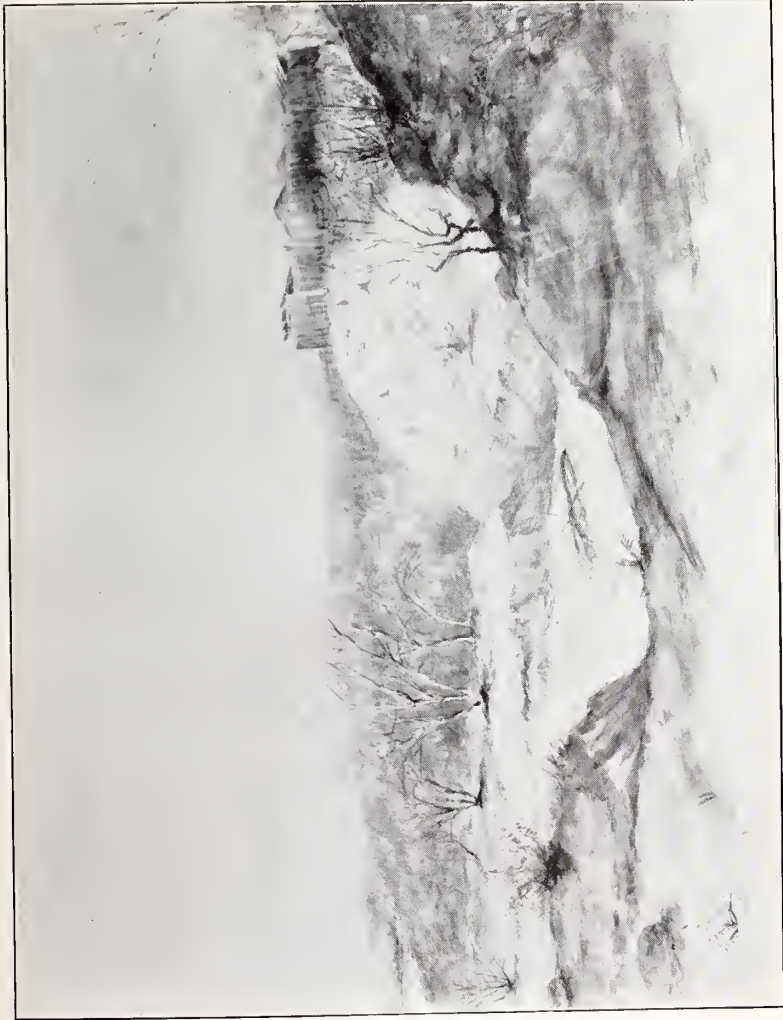
Peoria County and other territory was attached to Fulton County for the purpose of jurisdiction, there was no local government.

PEORIA COUNTY

On January 13, 1825, Peoria County was erected with a provision that the county seat should be located near the site of Old Fort Clark, and be called Peoria. It was in the same year that Kellogg and his friends traveled from Galena to Peoria and back again over what became the Peoria and Galena Trail.

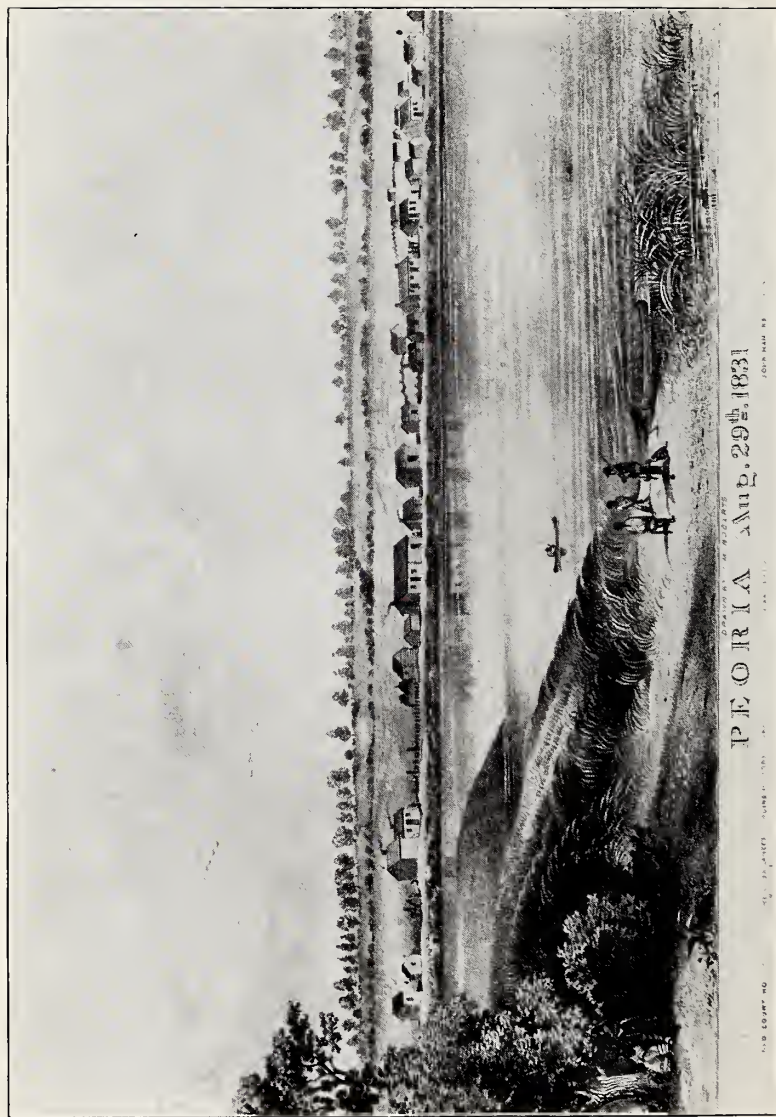
The "lead rush," as it was called, had much to do with the early history of Peoria. Many of the able-bodied men in this vicinity joined the throng. The first to go went by the old Indian trail from Peoria through the present village of Princeville, south of Wyoming, south of Toulon and on to Rock Island; and then up the trail from Rock Island to Galena. As this was a trip of two hundred twenty miles, a shorter route was desired. Galena was then part of Peoria County and transactions of legal affairs at the county seat necessitated considerable travel.

Oliver W. Kellogg had a cabin on the present site of Pearl City, but because of Indian threats, in 1822, he moved to the present site of Polo and opened Kellogg's Tavern, and marked a trail to Galena. Taking all the evidence and uniting all the statements of historians, Kellogg had a trail to Galena and one to the Indian ferry; and made a trip with some friends over the route which bore his name. Over this trail the distance between Peoria and Galena was sixty miles less than by the way of Rock Island. To one who is acquainted with the territory, the journey was not hazardous. Much of the land over which they passed was prairie land and the grass on high land is short in comparison with the grass of the lower lands. There were many groves or points of timber by which to



FORT CREVECOEUR

From a painting by Herbert Conner.



PEORIA IN 1831

guide. There was an Indian ferry over the Rock River near where John Dixon afterwards built a ferry and a tavern; then more cabins, then a village which was later called Dixonville and finally Dixon. The first part of the trip was probably well known to Kellogg. He came from Galena to Buffalo Grove, a distance of some thirty-five miles and by traveling sixteen miles farther, he reached the Rock River. When he arrived at the ferry he was practically north of Peoria. After he had crossed the river, he was guided by well known land marks through Lee County to Bureau County and finally to the high land in that county upon which Providence was built. From the high land he could see the woodlands along the Illinois River. From the same place with a telescope, the traveler can yet see from fifty to sixty miles. From Providence, the Kellogg Trail went on south over the present site of Milo. The age of this old town is told by some of its weather beaten buildings. From this point, Kellogg went on a few miles to Boyd's Grove, skirting the northeast corner, and followed an Indian trail toward the river. A short distance farther, the hills of Hallock came into view and he guided towards a depression in the tree tops, finding a convenient pass through the hills where Northampton now stands. It was an easy trail from this pass to the river and along the river to Peoria. Nearly all the first trail followed the Illinois and Potawatomi Trail through the timber land that covered the valley and between the hills and the river until it reached the village of Peoria. While there were two passes through the Northampton hills, this route from Galena to Peoria remained the Kellogg Trail until the year 1827.

As we have noted, Peoria County was created in 1825 and there was included within its jurisdiction all the state of Illinois north of the Illinois River and west of the Kankakee, as well as all of Tazewell County and a portion of

Mason and McLean counties. The village of Peoria was made the county seat, but the old French claims and the attempt to locate the county seat upon a fractional section, caused much controversy and litigation. Therefore, the legal organization of the city was not completed until 1835. Peoria County was made part of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, and the territory annexed for judicial purposes included all the territory to the north. Judge John York Sawyer was the circuit judge assigned to the Fifth District and he induced John Dixon of Springfield to come to Peoria to act as clerk of the circuit court. Dixon not only became clerk of the circuit court but clerk of the county court and probate court and recorder and justice of the peace. Because these offices were not sufficient to maintain him, he opened a tailor shop. All the offices held by him netted him a little less than thirty-six cents a day. This caused him to look about for other employment, and he obtained the contract to carry the mails from Peoria to the new mining town of Galena. There was a mail route from the Ohio River to Springfield and another from Springfield to Peoria and therefore, the Peoria and Galena mail route became a practical extension of the routes from the south. In 1827 Dixon began carrying the mail once in two weeks, but the trips increased until there were daily trips with a stage coach carrying passengers as well as the mail, between the Illinois River and the town of Galena.

In 1826, Kellogg's Trail from Galena to Dixon had been somewhat shortened by Boles; and when travel increased over this trail, the name was changed to the Peoria and Galena Trail.

If we follow the change in name, we would begin with the trail of the Illinois from the Great Town on the site of Old Utica along the Illinois River to the village of the Peoria, not far from the Narrows. The Potawatomi later followed the same trail; and when Howard in 1813 started

out to punish Gomo and other Indian chiefs, he followed what became the Peoria and Galena Trail from Fort Clark to Dickison Creek and then the Chicago and Peoria Trail to Chillicothe. In 1825, came the Kellogg Trail, followed in 1827 by the Peoria and Galena mail route. From that time on, the trail was known as the Peoria and Galena Trail. There were two trails a portion of the way, one called the Peoria and Galena Trail and the other the Peoria and Galena Coach Road. We will find it more convenient to describe this road from Peoria to Galena.

Because of the wealth of history at the Peoria end of the trail, as well as the Galena end of the trail and many points between, it will be part of our story to name some of the notable persons who traveled or lived along the way and whose names are intimately connected with this historic route. There is much history in all the counties along the Illinois River and in the Peoria Neighborhood, which is part of the history of Illinois. The settlements of Peoria, Stark, Putnam, Marshall and Bureau, are intimately connected. The first settler of Stark County, Isaac Essex, who was one of the first teachers in the old village of Peoria, moved to Stark County in 1829 and the neighbors who assisted in moving him to his new home, came from La Salle Prairie, Prince's Grove and Peoria. All the counties to the north were at one time part of Peoria County.

A SHORT CITY TOUR

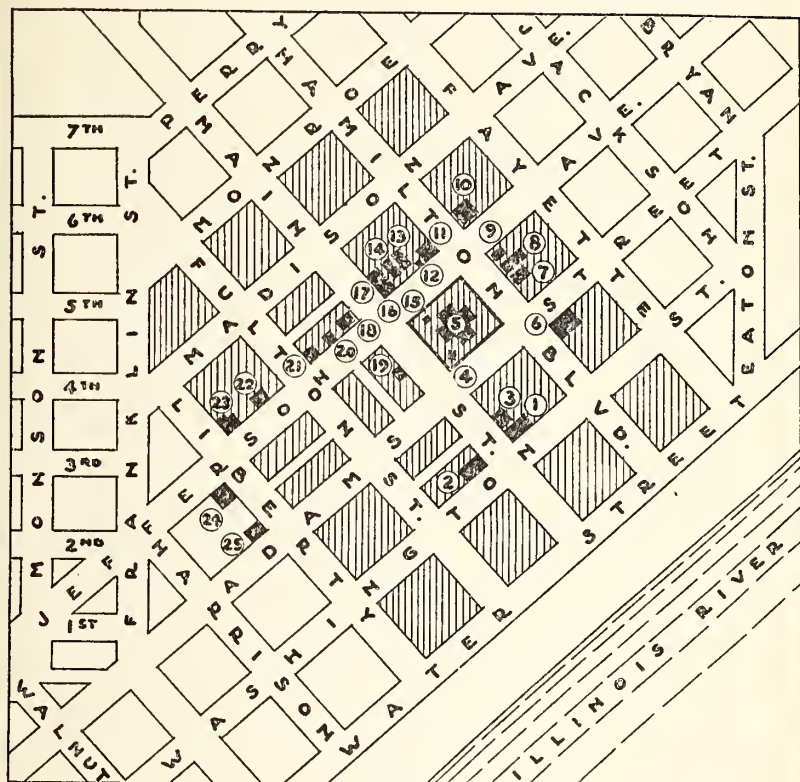
Let us take you for a drive around one city block before we start up the Peoria and Galena Road.

As the old French village included the territory bounded by Liberty, Washington, Fulton and Front streets or the bank of the river, and as the village of Peoria succeeding it occupied this block, we will begin our ride at the southwest corner of Fulton and Washington streets or the north-

east corner of the old village. We will move up one block on Washington Street and stop for a moment at the site of the first special school in Peoria. This is located just back of the Davis drug store. Both buildings joined as one are still standing in good condition. We will then turn to the left up Main Street and stop on the corner. To the right, we find the First National Bank building, erected in the 1850s, and beside it the building in which H. M. Pindell in 1889 founded the Peoria *Herald*; and to which place in 1890 he removed the Peoria *Transcript* and changed the name of his publication to the *Herald-Transcript*. In the next building, the Tripps, father and son, conducted a book store for sixty years. To the left, on the corner, is the building that was occupied by the Second National Bank and afterwards by the Peoria National Bank. The latter institution closed its doors because of irregularities of one of its officers in other fields; but the bank paid all its depositors in full. In the second story of this building, Robert G. Ingersoll had his law office for some time. Later, the Collector of Internal Revenue had his office in the same place and still later the Supreme Office of a Fraternal Insurance company was located there.

During one generation most all the clothing stores of Peoria, some of which were operated by Ottenheimer, Schradzki and White, were located in this block. In another generation, nearly all the banks were located in the same block, including the two banks just mentioned and the Merchants National Bank and the predecessor of the Central National Bank. We will now move on to the corner of Main and Adams streets. The Central National Bank, which was the successor of one of the oldest banks in the city and which was formerly located a block away, stands on the northwest corner.

MAP OF
WILLIAM S. HAMILTON SURVEY
 1825 & 1826
 AND
CHARLES BALLANCE RESURVEY
 1831 & 1834



- ① FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING.
- ② SECOND NAT'L. BANK BLDG., HOME OF PEORIA NAT'L. BANK, COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, OFFICE OF R.G. INGERSOLL.
- ③ H.M. PINDELL BEGAN PUBLICATION OF THE PEORIA HERALD, TRIPP'S, BOOKS.
- ④ CIVIL WAR MONUMENT BY FRITZ TRIEBEL.
- ⑤ COURT HOUSE - LINCOLN SPOKE - SOUTH DOOR IN 1857-54 & 58. DOUGLAS SPOKE IN 1842 & 54.
- ⑥ FORMER SITE OF PLANTER'S HOTEL - LATER - PEORIA HOUSE.
- ⑦ FORMER SITE OF OLD BAPTIST CHURCH.
- ⑧ FORMER SITE OF GRAND OPERA HOUSE.
- ⑨ HERVEY LIGHTNER HOUSE.
- ⑩ FORMER SITE OF THE WIGWAM IN 1860, WASHINGTON COCKLE HOUSE IN 1870, INGERSOLL HOUSE IN 1873, NATIONAL HOTEL IN 1882.
- ⑪ OLD POST OFFICE.
- ⑫ FORMER SITE OF INGERSOLL'S OFFICE.

- ⑬ FORMER SITE OF INGERSOLLS RESIDENCE.
- ⑭ FORMER SITE OF JOHN HAMLIN'S HOUSE.
- ⑮ CIVIL WAR MONUMENT ERECTED AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.
- ⑯ FORMER SITE - RESIDENCE AND OFFICE OF DR. ROUSE.
- ⑰ FORMER SITE - ROUSE'S OPERA HOUSE.
- ⑱ FORMER SITE - OLD LIBRARY BUILDING.
- ⑲ SITE OF BREED AND MURRAY DRUG STORE.
- ⑳ PEORIA JOURNAL-TRANSCRIPT BUILDING.
- ㉑ OLD PEORIA STAR BUILDING.
- ㉒ ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE - OLD HERALD TRANSCRIPT BUILDING.
- ㉓ MOSES PETTENGILL HOUSE.
- ㉔ CREVE COEUR CLUB - FORMER SITE OF ANSHAI EMETH SYNAGOGUE.
- ㉕ FORMER SITE OF OLD MASONIC TEMPLE.

DRAWN BY -
 E. BERNARD HULSEBUS - 1934.

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

THE COURT HOUSE SQUARE

We now turn with considerable interest to what is actually the south corner of the court house square. Here we see the monument erected in memory of the soldiers of the civil war. This was designed and cast under the supervision of Fritz Triebel. Triebel was born in Peoria. He was a student in the Peoria schools, and continued his studies in Rome. He later was made a member of the College of Immortals in Italy. The unveiling of this monument was a great event for the city of Peoria and for the people of central Illinois. President McKinley made the principal address upon this occasion. Some units of the Spanish-American army had not been mustered out, and in the parade were to be found a troop of the First Illinois Cavalry and companies from the Sixth Regiment of Infantry. Upon the unusually large platform which had been erected could be seen men famous all over Illinois and some famous throughout the nation. The President made a great impression upon the people of the neighborhood, not alone by his splendid address but because of his kindly manner. His old tent mate, Joseph B. Greenhut, entertained him while he was in Peoria and on the evening of the dedication day invited several guests to dine with him in his mansion at the end of Moss Avenue, where High Street meets South Sheridan Road. Two fine looking young corporals had been detailed as the President's orderlies, and when the President had alighted from his carriage at the Greenhut mansion, and the orderlies did not follow, he turned to his old companion in arms and said to him, "Joe, may I have the privilege of taking my orderlies to dinner with me?" Of course, Mr. Greenhut answered in the affirmative.

The Greenhuts had made great preparation for entertaining their distinguished guest and several Peorians are in possession of silk flags especially woven for the purpose

of decorating the Greenhut home upon this occasion. One of these flags, which we remember very well, hung over the head of the President's bed. It afterwards hung in the window of the citizen to whom Mrs. Greenhut had given it, from the opening of the World War until its close and it still, as no doubt others, remains as a memento of that great day in central Illinois.

We will now turn to the right and move to the middle of the 100 block on North Adams Street, bringing us to the front of the south door of the court house. The present court house was erected in 1876 to take the place of another famous court house erected in 1836. It was from the south porch of this 1836 building that Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln spoke on October 16, 1854. (Douglas had spoken from the same place in 1842, advocating the building of a waterway; and Lincoln began an address at that point in 1858, but the crowd dispersed because of a heavy rain.) On this famous date in 1854, Douglas had an engagement to speak at two o'clock and the Whigs of Peoria had sent a petition to Abraham Lincoln to come to Peoria and reply to him. Douglas spoke nearly three hours and when he had closed, Lincoln asked the people, who had gathered to hear Douglas, to return after they had had their "supper," and listen to him. He stated that Mr. Douglas would have an opportunity to reply to what he said. When the people assembled in the evening, Lincoln spoke for about the same length of time that Douglas had occupied. This was the speech which, developed and changed but little, raised the Kansas-Nebraska Bill issue, and finally become the Cooper Institute speech.

We now move on to the end of the block. At the right on the upper corner of the crossing of Hamilton and Adams streets, we find a hotel where once stood the Peoria House, the name given in 1850 to the Planters House.

What pictures are formed when we read the old hotel register—presidents, governors, politicians, merchants, and other men of distinction. It is just beyond this hotel on the river side of Adams Street that the Parmeley Hall was built, the hall which was locked against Abraham Lincoln in 1858. We now turn to the left and go up Hamilton Street, which was named after Alexander Hamilton by his son, William S., who made the first survey of the city of Peoria. This survey was from Liberty to Fayette and from the water front to Monroe. We might stop on this corner and look along the upper side of Adams Street to our right, and remember the site where the old Tabernacle stood. There were many memorable meetings in this old Tabernacle. Probably the best remembered was the political meeting in 1884, addressed by Richard J. Oglesby and John A. Logan. It was held at the end of a parade that took more than one hour "to pass a given point." In the third block is the site of the Academy of Music, which brings back the memory of notable musicians and orators who entertained and instructed the people of Peoria in past years. Moving up the right side of Hamilton Street, we come to the site of the Old Baptist Church which remained standing longer than the majority of buildings in this city. The Baptists exchanged this property for another church at the corner of Madison and Fayette streets. This old church was used for commercial purposes until the site was finally cleared to make more room for the building of the present county jail. This jail succeeded another much smaller in size, erected in the 1860s. Next to the jail we come to the old Grand Opera House which was partially destroyed by fire in 1909 and then converted into a garage. There are many memories, outside of its housing the *Peoria Journal* and the *German Democrat*, connected with this building. From its quarter of a century of programs we read names known through-



PEORIA IN 1846



PEORIA TODAY

An airplane photograph.

out the nation and many throughout the world. The Grand Opera House was opened on September 7, 1882, by Emma Abbott and her opera troupe. Emma's girlhood was spent in Peoria and she often went with her father, a violinist, to country school houses to sing, but now she had become famous and wealthy as well. Many of the present generation remember her when she returned to sing in the opera "Martha" in 1890 and in other rôles. Her name is connected not only with the Grand Opera House, but with Parmeley Hall and the Academy of Music on Adams Street, Rouse's Hall on Main Street, as well as many other buildings in the city.

From the programs from 1882 to 1909 we read: Sydney Drew in "Honor Bound," Joe Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," "The Black Crook," Chauncey Olcott in "Mavourneen," Richard Mansfield in "Beau Brummel," Otis Skinner in "The Harvester," George M. Cohan in "The Yankee Prince," Willard in "The Middle Man," Harry Lauder, James Whitcomb Riley, Ingersoll in several lectures, Booth, Barrett, Modjeska, Salvini, Robert Downing, Nat Goodwin, Eddie Foy, Raymond Hitchcock, Tim Murphy, Clay Clement, Mrs. Fisk, Mary Shaw and others.

We will move on for a few feet and stop in front of the house erected in the 1860s by Hervey Lightner, the most beautiful residence in central Illinois. Hervey Lightner laid out the Springdale Cemetery and was one of the most prominent men of his day. There are many of his descendants among the well known citizens of Peoria. For many years this was the home of the famous Peoria Bicycle Club.

Immediately after the Republican convention that nominated Lincoln, the Whigs erected the Wigwam, on the northeast corner of Hamilton and Jefferson streets, patterned after the building in which Lincoln was nominated. When it was completed, Owen Lovejoy and a number of

local republican orators made dedication speeches. Ten or twelve years later, Washington Cockle built a magnificent residence on this lot which in 1876 was purchased by Robert G. Ingersoll and surrendered by him in 1879 to James A. Roosevelt. The old Cockle house, or as it is generally known, the old Ingersoll house, was moved in 1882 to its present location in the middle of the same block. The complete house in which Ingersoll lived, with a considerable addition, is in full view. It was the first brick house to be moved in its entirety, in this part of the West. The James A. Roosevelt who was trustee for the mortgagees who held the mortgage on the land of Jacob Littleton, the present Detweiller Park, was the same James A. Roosevelt who took over this lot and building from Robert G. Ingersoll. He sold it soon afterwards to the National Hotel Company, and in 1882 the building was moved, as stated before, and a four-story hotel erected. The history of this hotel is full of interest. We might spend days and days in discussing guests whose names appear upon its register. In this building the Creve Coeur Club held its earliest Washington birthday banquets, and the Kickapoo Club held its first banquets. Many famous dinners to senators and governors and other distinguished persons, were laid in this hotel. While Secretary Shaw held the Treasury portfolio, he was tendered a banquet here. It was at this hotel that the famous banquet was tendered to Judge Hanacy, Walter Reeves, Judge Carter and Richard Yates when they were candidates for the governorship in 1900. After the fifth story was added, until the date of its burning, it was the home of the Elks Club.

We will now drive across the street and make a left turn and stop at the building on the northwest corner of Hamilton Street and Jefferson Avenue. This housed the Peoria postoffice before the present structure at the corner

of Main and Monroe streets was built by the Federal government. While we are standing here we will look across to the court house yard and recall the great political meetings held there in the campaign of 1900. One day in October, Theodore Roosevelt, candidate for Vice-President on the Republican ticket, spoke from a platform near Jefferson Avenue to the largest gathering of people assembled in Peoria before that time or since. More than 100,000 people came through the Union station gate on that day. Two days later William Jennings Bryan spoke from the same stand to a crowd nearly as large, and the addresses of these two great leaders were published throughout the nation. The incidents of the coming of Roosevelt, accompanied by Curtiss Guild and other prominent men, the reception committee, the open barouche drawn by four black horses, the six companies of campaign rough riders, the platoon of police and detectives, are still remembered by thousands of people in the Peoria neighborhood and adjoining territory.

Just ahead of us on the right was the office and residence of Robert G. Ingersoll. In the directories of the 1870s he is shown as living on Jefferson Street, the "4th door" above Main Street. We might recall that Robert lived at one time on Monson Street; later, on the upper and lower corners of Fulton Street and Jefferson Avenue, and then at the place just mentioned. From 1876 to 1879 he lived in the Cockle house on the corner of Hamilton Street and Jefferson Avenue. For eighteen months he lived at 840 Moss Avenue. These two blocks on Jefferson Avenue and block one on Main Street, are Ingersoll territory. By looking across to the northwest corner of Main Street and Jefferson Avenue we see the office building which was erected upon the site of the old Peoria Library building. Around this corner and the block south of it cling many memories, but prominent among them was the

drug store of Breed and Murray at 321 Main Street where Ingersoll came to buy cigars and sit on the counter and talk. Many people learned that Ingersoll came here in the evenings and therefore, he always had an audience. The writer has many of the wise sayings of the great orator which he obtained from years of association with William T. Murray, the Murray of the Breed and Murray partnership. It was in this store that Ingersoll first made use of the statement that was widely published in after years, "The more I see of men the better I like dogs." In this place on a piece of brown paper he drew what became the frontispiece for his book called "The Gods," with the statement under three telephone poles, "For the use of man," and under three crosses, "For the love of God." It was considered blasphemous.

A little farther on is the site of the residence of John Hamlin during part of the 1860s and part of the 1870s. John Hamlin had the first store of any consequence in the early village of Peoria. He took such a part in public affairs and rendered such services to the young village that it would take a special chapter to tell of all the events with which he was connected.

Your attention is called to a monument in the northwest corner of the court house yard. It was erected at the close of the civil war and on its sides are the names of five hundred thirty-six Peoria men who gave their lives for the preservation of the Union.

We are still near the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Main Street. Upon this corner Doctor Rudolphus Rouse, the second doctor in Peoria, built a residence and office. In 1857 he erected just back of this building, along Main Street, what was known as Rouse's Opera House. It was a two-story building and joined the residence, extending to the alley in the middle of that block. There are many memories connected with this building while it



COLONEL WILLIAM STEPHEN HAMILTON
1797-1850



EARLY FIGURES OF THE TRAIL
Henry Gratiot of Galena, William S. Hamilton, and John Dixon.



THREE NOTABLE FIGURES IN PEORIA'S HISTORY

Josiah Fulton, the only one of the seven original settlers to become a permanent resident; William McKinley and Robert G. Ingersoll.

was an Opera House and while it was known as Rouse's Hall. This Opera House was opened on May 18, 1857, with "Charles II or the Merry Monarch." From the programs we read such names as Bayard Taylor, lecturer; Frederick Douglass, negro orator; Wendell Phillips on "Reconstruction;" Ingersoll on "The Gods;" Lawrence Barrett in "Richelieu;" Abbot and others. In later years the Main Street theater was conducted here and in 1920 the building was razed to make room for the Peoria Life Building.

We will go on to Liberty Street, passing the office of the Peoria *Journal-Transcript*, the old location of the Peoria *Star* before it moved to its commodious building on Madison Street, the office of the Peoria Association of Commerce, at one time the *Herald-Transcript* building; to the corner of Jefferson and Liberty, where the Jefferson Hotel now stands. For many years this was the home of Moses Pettengill, an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln. To this place Lincoln came to discuss political affairs with this ardent Whig. During a considerable time the Pettengill house was a station of the famous Underground Railway. We now turn left down Liberty Street and pause for a moment at the Creve Coeur Club, which has occupied this site for more than thirty years. Upon this corner for two generations the Anshai Emeth Synagogue stood. It was destroyed by fire in the early nineties. We then go south through the business district, by the Commercial Merchants National Bank and Trust Company which stands on the site of the old Masonic Temple, and turn up Washington Street and drive on past Main Street and stop for a moment in front of the oil station at 118-120 North Washington Street. This is the site of the old Washington House which was also the stage coach office for many years. Lincoln ate and slept at this hotel a number of times. A large part of the present generation

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

have full knowledge of this old house as it was not torn down until 1931. Because we cannot take the diagonal trail to Adams Street, we continue past 305 North Washington Street, the old Fourth Ward school house. This building was erected in the 1850s before the adoption of the free school law. Just back of the school house was the jail which was the predecessor of the jail on the alley between Monroe and Perry streets. We will take the diagonal road, now known as Eaton Street, which was part of the Kellogg Trail and later part of the Coach Road, to Adams Street. What is now Adams Street was the real beginning of the Peoria and Galena road.

THE OLD TRAIL

There are many buildings and sites of old buildings along Adams Street that bring back memories of other days. In the block to the left was the Academy of Music to which we have alluded before. Near Hancock Street—in the language of the early writers, “one-half mile from the village”—the Indians camped in 1811 when Levering came with a letter from Governor Edwards, and called them together in council. It was here that Little Chief turned the American flag upside down because he was dissatisfied with the food furnished and the quarters assigned to him, and it was here he received a note from Captain Levering stating that unless he showed proper respect for the American flag the message of their father, Governor Edwards, would not be read to them. It was here the next morning that the flag was hung in the proper manner.

At Mary Street, near the sites of the old Indian village that Jolliet and Marquette visited, of Old Peoria's Fort and Village, and of the Mission des Detroit, the old trail was compelled to detour because of sand pits some twenty feet deep and a block wide. Just before making the detour,



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AVE. TO PEBV RIGHT OF WAY

DRAWN BY - E. BERNARD HULSEBUS - 1934.

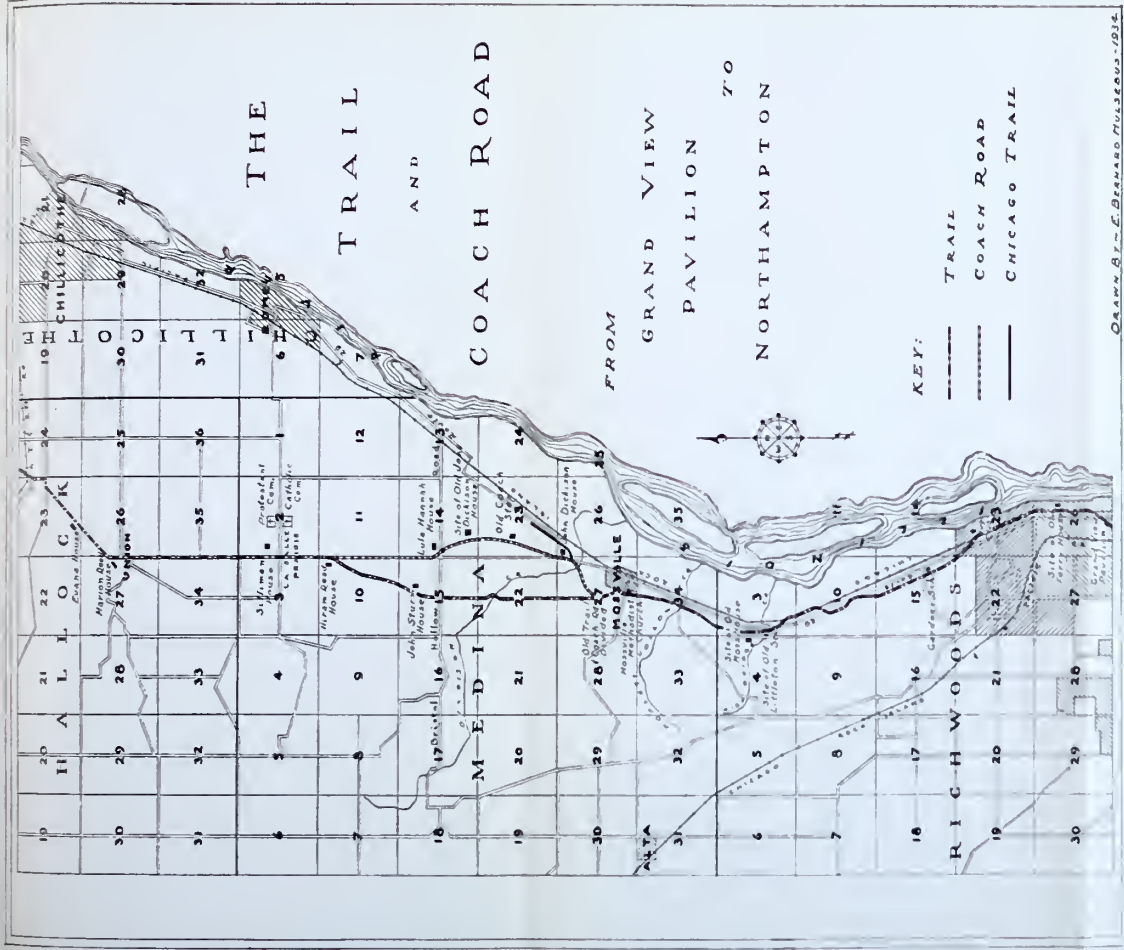
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we might read the marker which states that in 1861 Captain John Hall opened a recruiting station at this point.

After avoiding the sand pits, the Trail came back to Adams Street and went on to Beacon Street where it again detoured to avoid another sand pit; and then on to what is now Lorentz Avenue. It then passed on to Devil's Creek and Devil's Hollow at the entrance of what is now Grand View Drive. The old bridge upon which the coaches passed for many years, is remembered by some of the older inhabitants, and the substantial bridge erected by the Park Association is nearly on the site occupied by bridges which have gone before.

From here the road passed over the point of the hill on the ground now occupied by Grand View pavilion and down over a gently sloping bank to the site of the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad which has for more than half a century been under lease to the Chicago and Rock Island Railway.

ALONG THE RIVER

The Trail and Coach Road continued on the present railroad right of way to the site of the old ferry house at the Narrows which is opposite the point where the Ten Mile Creek empties into the Illinois River. Dr. C. Frank Peters has pointed out to me an old stump near a cottonwood tree where for two generations the ferry boat was "snubbed." The Frink and Walker coaches crossed the river at this point and two miles farther from the river, stopped at the Little Detroit post office which was later known as the Fondulac post office; and then on to Metamora and finally to Chicago. From the old ferry house the Trail and Coach Road continued to Detroit. The Ivy Club now stands where the Detroit dock once stood. This old village had a furniture factory, and from its dock thousands of dressed hogs were shipped. To the left was

the site of an old fort which has never been identified. It is probably the site of an Indian village, because one of the men who helped survey this old trail gathered, in his boyhood, more than a peck of Indian arrows near the location of the old fort and other persons have gathered large numbers which in the aggregate amounted to bushels.

From the Ivy Club we pass in front of the Jacob Gauwitz farm and cross the old road that led from the Prospect road past the municipal sanitarium. The Trail then went west of north back of the Gardner schoolhouse, formerly the Stafford schoolhouse, and then through the land upon which the label factory is now located, and on to the middle of the south line of Section 10, Richwoods Township, where it again returned for a short distance to the present railroad right of way. It continued in Richwoods Township crossing the southwest corner of Section 3, and on to High Bridge Creek. High Bridge Creek runs through the southern point of Detweiller Park. The old bridge over High Bridge Creek was seventy-five feet west of Route 29. On the north side of the creek, about seventy-five to eighty-five feet west of Route 29, the Trail passed in front of the old Littleton schoolhouse which was a landmark for more than two generations. There is a small creek that has the appearance of a ditch that runs practically north and south from a point a short distance beyond the old schoolhouse; and along the west side of this creek both Trail and Coach Road extended, crossing the creek as that stream came down from the hills; and on by the porch of the old Moss house. This was the house which in 1864 became the Jacob Littleton house and afterwards was known as the Payson house and then the Detweiller Park house. This famous residence was torn down in 1933.

Hundreds of thousands of people have seen and admired the old Greek Revival house with its wonderful columns



THE ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY NORTH OF PEORIA

The Peoria and Galena Coach Road winds along the foot of the hills.



THE OLD MOSS HOME
As it appeared in 1920.

at the front, and the long rows of beautiful trees. Many recall the old road that came down from the west through the valleys and went on between these two rows of trees to the river and a dock which was called the Moss landing. It would take more than one chapter to give the history of Zealey Moss, the Revolutionary soldier and minister; or of his son, William Moss, who built the stately mansion here; or of his daughter, Lydia Moss Bradley. William Moss was one of the best known steamboat captains on the Illinois River. Lydia Moss Bradley erected the buildings for the Bradley Polytechnic Institute and established an endowment fund for the institution of more than two million dollars.

Let us stop for a moment and recall some of the history connected with this estate. To the Littleton house came friends from Cincinnati and Louisville on chartered boats. Sometimes the social gatherings were composed of people from Peoria and vicinity and when the visitors came from a distance, many of the leading people of the Peoria Neighborhood joined with them in week-end parties. The mother of John C. Hough, granddaughter of John Dickison whose house "at the forks of the road" has been a land mark for nearly a hundred years, attended these parties and gave a description to her son, to whom I am much indebted for valuable information regarding the old trail. When the boats came up from the south, Captain Detweiller was always engaged to pilot them from Peoria up through the Narrows and into the slip which ended at the Peoria and Bureau Valley railroad right of way. The old Captain could hardly have dreamed that in the years to come this beautiful park would perpetuate his name. In memory of his father, his son, Thomas H. Detweiller, purchased this estate and donated it to the Peoria Pleasure Driveway and Park District.

From the old village to the present point, the Kellogg

Trail and the later Trail and Coach Road, followed the same route for some distance. From the Moss house or Littleton house, as it was known for many years, this road crossed what is now known as Littleton Hills about eight hundred feet west of Route 29, and then continued in a northeasterly direction. The drivers of the first trail steered toward a tree, which is still in existence, southwest of the Hendryx house; then north on the half-section line across Poplett Hollow Creek and the Poplett Hollow road and Oakley Creek. There was no bridge over Oakley Creek but the banks had been sloped down so as to make a convenient ford. This old ford was eight hundred sixty feet west of Route 29 and the sloping banks are still discernible.

The Road and Trail then pursued the half-section line, passed four hundred feet west of the present site of the Methodist church at Mossville, and then across the road that leads west from the center of Mossville. With only one or two variations from the present road, this cross trail led to the Mt. Hawley postoffice at the corner of the Mt. Hawley road. We will stop a moment at Mossville and drive west to the site of the old schoolhouse which was the first schoolhouse in Mossville. In this old building the father of Emma Abbot taught singing school, and the little girl, who was afterwards to become one of the most noted singers in America, often came with her father to sing. It was torn down in 1934.

The history of Mossville begins with the arrival of the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad which was operating to Chillicothe in October, 1854, and to Peoria by November 1, 1854. At one time, George W. Schnebly, with whom the writer was associated when he was a lad and Schnebly was more than seventy years of age, owned nearly all the lots in the entire village of Mossville, on Section 27 of Medina Township. He gave the village

DRAWN BY ~ E. BERNARD MULZESBUSH - 1934.

Grand View
Devil's Den



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its name because at that time Captain William Moss owned a large body of land to the south.

On the northeast quarter of the same section of land upon which Mossville stands, the first schoolhouse in Medina Township was erected. It was a log house "chinked and daubed" and it had a daubed chimney and only one window. It had a puncheon floor, puncheon seats and desks and an open fireplace. It had no other equipment, yet the school must have been an efficient one because one of the sixteen-year-old girls, Hannah Mary Chamberlain, obtained from Nicholas E. Worthington, the Peoria County superintendent of schools, and afterwards congressman, circuit judge and notable throughout this neighborhood, a "certificate of attainment" which authorized her to become a teacher of the first Mossville school in the old schoolhouse, the site of which we saw in the western part of that village. She also became a teacher in the Boylan school two miles north of Dickison Creek, which we will pass on our journey. It is worth remarking that nearly all the pupils in the Boylan school were her cousins. The Medina schoolhouse was built in 1839 and the Boylan school at about the same time.

In few places, if any, north of the old southern settlements, in Illinois, will we find any territory where the names of the residents of a hundred years ago and nearly a hundred years ago, are the same today. Along this Trail we find the grandsons and the great-grandsons and grand-nephews and great-grand-nephews and other relatives of the men who settled the townships of Medina and Hallock in the 1830s. In one instance the sixth generation is living on the land granted to the ancestor by a government patent.

Thomas Hough lived near the center of Medina Township on the northwest quarter of Section 27, near Mossville, and the Trail and Coach Road parted near his

house. The Trail continued straight north on the half-section line, crossing the old Bristol Hollow road two miles to the north, and then to the John Sturm house, a half-mile west of the gravel road which leads from the Dickison house "at the forks of the road," to Northampton. From that point the Trail extended diagonally to the present gravel road a short distance south of the Hiram Reed house, now standing to the left of this gravel road. The Reed house is still in good condition. From the Hough house near the center of Section 27, the Coach Road turned to the east and passed the first schoolhouse in Medina, of which we have spoken. Then running a little north of east, it crossed Dickison Creek a few feet west of the present bridge on Route 29, an old stump marking the site of the bridge on the old Coach Road. Just after crossing the bridge the Coach Road divided, the Peoria and Chicago trail passing south of the John Dickison house and on in the general direction of Route 29. When the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad was being built, those in charge of the construction boarded at the Dickison house. At that time the Dickison Creek was fifteen feet deep and for more than two generations was a famous fishing ground. As it neared the Illinois River it became the Dickison slough.

Going back to "the forks of the road," the Coach Road continued a little east of north by the home of Thomas Chambers who settled on that farm in 1837 and whose descendants are now in the township. The road then curved to the east and again to the west until it reached the Charles Boylan house, now owned by Lula Hannah. It was in front of this house that the Coach Road came again to the gravel road on the section line. As the road curves through Section 23 we note a red gate 715 feet east of the gravel road which marks the center of the Coach Road from 1830 to 1850. A short distance to the

south near the present house on the Neal farm, is the site of the old stage coach barn and stage stop. The well that furnished pure cold water to the travelers in 1833 is still in use and the water is still pure and cold. Ray Neal lives in this house and is the great-grandson of John P. Neal, whose house stood on the site of the present residence in the days of the stage coach. The old Neal cemetery, laid out three generations ago, is back of the present structure; and nearby is the site of a witness tree blazed in 1833 by the road viewers of the old Peoria and Galena Coach Road, when the Illinois legislature had made the Peoria and Galena road a state road. This witness tree was a famous old walnut, and five and a half feet from the ground it measured twenty-four feet in circumference. It was purchased some years ago by walnut buyers from Terre Haute, Indiana, and shipped to Hamburg, Germany. On reaching the section line and the old Boylan house, the road passed in front of the Jane Sturm Dickison house on the northwest quarter of Section 14 in Medina Township.

After the Coach Road had reached the section line in front of the Boylan house, and the Trail had reached the section line, near the house of Hiram Reed, both the Trail and the Coach Road went north by Hick's Pond which some years ago was drained into the Dickison slough as part of the work of the Hallock-Medina drainage district.

After we pass the Hiram Reed house we come to the frame house on the Mallen farm near the section line, and a little to the north in a log house on the Mallen farm was the Helena postoffice, established in 1833. A few rods farther we cross the road that leads from the village of Rome past the La Salle Prairie cemeteries. These cemeteries are one-half mile to the east of the Trail. On the north side of the La Salle Prairie Road

is the Protestant cemetery laid out in the early thirties; and on the south side is the Catholic church, and the Catholic cemetery which was laid out a little later. On the corner of this road and the Trail is the Reed schoolhouse which is part of the old La Salle Prairie settlement. A few rods to the north on the right hand side of the road, we come to the Silliman brick house which was the voting place and postoffice for La Salle Prairie Settlement and a landmark for travelers for more than three generations. A mile and a half farther we come to the house of Simon Reed who settled here in 1825. In that year he built for himself a two-room log house on the southwest quarter of Section 26 in Hallock Township, on the same site where the present house stands. Some five hundred feet to the northwest stands the house that was begun by Lewis Hallock at Hallock Hollow. Lewis Hallock, after whom the township was named, entered land in this township in 1820, but did not return to take up a residence until 1829. In this neighborhood of Simon Reed and Marion Reed was the old town of Union which was well known throughout the Peoria Neighborhood and beyond. The Union schoolhouse stands north of the road that leads to the Illinois River and some old logs still remain on the south side of that road, marking the site of the first schoolhouse in that township. When Union was in its glory, it had a church and a grange hall as well as a school and other buildings. The church and the grange hall remained until about ten years ago.

From Union the road runs diagonally to Northampton. Within a half-mile after leaving Union we find on the left hand side the brick house of Charles Hicks, the son of Ira Hicks and the grandson of Joel Hicks who settled there in 1830. A few rods farther, on the same side of the road, we find the Walter S. Evans house

PERCIVAL GRAHAM RENNICK

which was built of brick made from the clay from the farm and burned on the farm. Evans was the first supervisor of Hallock Township and the grandfather of P. E. Phillips, who for many years has been the sole merchant of Northampton. Phillips' father operated a general store in the same store building which was built on the ground once occupied by the old coach house and the relay station and tavern of Reuben Hamlin.

HENRY CREEK CROSSING

From the Evans house we will proceed in the same diagonal direction to the road that leads through Section 24 of Hallock and on to the city of Chillicothe. We travel a few rods to the east on this road, then a few rods to the north and a few rods more to the east, going under the Santa Fe railroad viaduct and across Henry Creek, at the same point that the Kellogg Trail and the Coach Road crossed it in 1825, 1833 and afterwards; and then on up the hill to Northampton.

THE HILLS OF HALLOCK

When Kellogg and his companions made the trip from Galena to Peoria, they chose this gateway or this pass or this easy way over the hills of Hallock, before there was any village at this point. When the legislature of the state of Illinois provided for the surveying of a state road from Peoria to Galena, the viewers followed the old trail from Peoria through the hills of Northampton, before there were any stores or residences in that ancient village. The coach house and the Reuben Hamlin tavern were not built until after the Trail had been established. It was in 1836 that Reuben Hamlin, who had his tavern in the Hallock hills, platted the town of Northampton and in 1838 filed his plat of record in the court

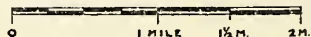
THE TRAIL AND COACH ROAD THROUGH THE HALLOCK HILLS



KEY:

— P. & G. TRAIL
- - - P. & G. COACH ROAD

SCALE:



DRAWN BY ~ E. BERNARD HULSEBUS - 1934.

house at Peoria. In addition to keeping his tavern, Hamlin was for several years postmaster of the village.

We find in the history of Stark County by Mrs. Shallenberger that there was a box in a hole in the side of the hill at Northampton, just north of the Henry Creek crossing, where the postmaster at Northampton placed the mail addressed to the citizens of the Spoon River country, or as we would now say, the Stark County country. It was agreed among the Stark County people that any person coming by this hole in the hill would bring any mail he found in the box to the Stark County settlement.

This Northampton gateway cannot be too greatly emphasized. Comparatively, in its day of prosperity, it was one of the most noted gateways in the entire valley. There was a mail route from Springfield to Peoria over the Fort Clark road and the Terre Haute trace, coming between the townships of Fondulac and Groveland and then down through Cole Hollow until it reached the ferry landing on the east side of the river at Peoria. There was a mail route, beginning in 1827, from Peoria through Northampton to Boyd's Grove, Milo, Providence, Bulbona's Grove, Dixon and on to Galena. In 1825, Kellogg had traveled both to and from Peoria over the same trail. It was the first and for many years the only road north of the Illinois River. In 1833 the state road was established, running from Peoria over the route we have described, to Northampton and then down the valley road to the famous J. B. Meredith tavern on Section 12 of Hallock Township, one and a half miles northeast of Northampton. From Meredith's, the stage coach passed on to Tiskilwa, then on to Princeton, Dixon and Galena; but some of the travelers turned to the left and went in a northwesterly direction to the county line and Boyd's Grove and over the Kellogg trail. This tavern, at the

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

dividing point of the trail, was the second place of great importance during the early days of the Peoria Neighborhood. The tavern remained until 1926 and many evidences of its location still exist. It was located at this point before the state legislature had made the Peoria and Galena road a state road. The state viewers were men whose names were well known in the Peoria Neighborhood—Joseph B. Meredith of the tavern, Joseph (Dad Joe) Smith, and Charles S. Boyd. The new road accommodated itself to the conditions of the valley, making a circle towards the right and then to the left, coming back to the half-section line, and on to Tiskilwa.

All of the trails used in passing from prairie to prairie through these hills of Hallock are remembered by men and women still alive and interested in the early history of the Peoria Neighborhood and the Illinois valley. It was through these trails and roads that the settlers from Bureau and Marshall counties and other points north, found their way to the Illinois River.

THE BLUE RIDGE ROAD

In traveling from Northampton, the original trail was the road that runs west from the old relay stable for a quarter of a mile and then northwest through Section 14 and across the corner of Section 11 by the house of George Stowell. Mr. Stowell is now eighty years of age but he has distinct memory of the trail and is able to point out the depressions made by the coaches in their many years of travel. The land upon which he lives was entered by the Root family in 1837 and his wife is one of that family.

The old town of Hallock is located on parts of Sections 3 and 10 of Hallock Township. Most travelers would stop here for an hour to enjoy its quaintness and quietude. Many would be interested in the ancient dates and leg-

ends on the tombstones. Nearly everyone would travel half a mile to the north to see the famous old burr oak tree. It was a small tree in 1836. In 1907 it shaded 5600 square feet. It now shades 10,044 square feet. It is in healthy condition, and may it last for another century to guide the minds of the coming generations back to the sturdy, patriotic and industrious pioneers of this beautiful neighborhood! Roswell Nurse settled here, by the burr oak tree, in 1836, receiving a patent from the government for the land he selected. Isaiah Nurse succeeded him as his heir, and H. H. Nurse succeeded Isaiah Nurse, and Elbert I. Nurse succeeded H. H. Nurse, and Rupert Nurse succeeded Elbert I. Nurse, and therefore, the children of Rupert Nurse are of the sixth generation of this family who have lived upon this land with each generation respected by their neighbors. In all these six generations the land has been tilled by the members of the family, and has never been leased nor mortgaged. This ninety-seven years of occupation of land in this changing America by the same family who have retained the respect of their neighbors, and the land neither leased nor mortgaged, is surely a bright story in the land of the Peoria, the Illinois, and the Potawatomi.

On the road that leads north through the middle of Section 3 is another landmark, the Sam Stowell house, not far away from the Nurse house and the old burr oak tree.

Going back to the old town of Hallock we proceed northwesterly to Section 4.

We have been traveling on the Blue Ridge road from Northampton to the center of Section 4 and then northwest through the Prentiss pasture and across the pasture of J. W. Reed, nearly to the county line; then west one-quarter of a mile to one of the widely known landmarks in the early days of the Trail, the L. C. Root house. It

is quite easy for the searcher to write about this Trail as the old road is deeply marked in both of the pastures referred to and in the yard of L. C. Root. This house with a wooden addition still exists. As the new part as well as the old has been painted white the tourist can easily recognize it. The witness stone and the witness tree in the middle of the county road a hundred feet west of the road to the north add to the interest of the days of the 1830s and 1840s. Both the Trail and the Coach Road before 1833 followed the Blue Ridge road from Northampton to the south line of Section 3 of Hallock Township but after the first few trips by Kellogg, both Trail and Coach Road extended northwest to the county line and on through Boyd's Grove. It is a very pleasant drive now to go by the way of Northampton, and then turn left over the old Blue Ridge road and then on by old Hallock and the Blue Ridge cemetery and the Root house, turning north through La Prairie Center and then on to the hard road where the tourist or pleasure seeker may turn right to Sparland and return by Route 29, practically on the old Chicago trail as far as Chillicothe and Rome; and then the Dickison Creek, Mossville and the Peoria and Galena road, and Peoria; or after leaving La Prairie Center, and traveling one mile north, reach the same hard road No. 90 and turn left to the Mt. Hawley road; and by Mt. Hawley, on Route 88, past many places of interest to all persons in the Peoria Neighborhood, and finally across the Mossville road, of which we spoke when we were at Mossville. We may stop for a moment to look at the well preserved frame building on the corner of the Mt. Hawley and Mossville roads which housed the old Mt. Hawley post-office nearly a century ago and was the social center for all the country north of Peoria until the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad came in 1854.

Going back to old Hallock, which is on the Blue Ridge road, we can go straight north for one mile to the county line and then east a quarter of a mile, passing by the road that leads to the north, and on another half-mile to the road that comes up from the J. B. Meredith tavern, and another half-mile to what many contend was the first trail to Boyd's Grove.

BUREAU COUNTY

FROM THE HALLOCK HILLS TO THE ROCK RIVER

The early travelers over the Peoria and Galena Trail left Peoria County on Section 3 of Hallock Township, passed through La Prairie and Saratoga townships in Marshall County and entered Bureau County on Section 34 of Milo Township. As a comparison of the geography of this Trail, it will be recalled that the Trail entered Richwoods Township in Peoria County not far from Section 34, Range 8, and left Richwoods Township at the middle of Section 3, and that the road was running on the section line between Sections 34 and 35 of this same range when it left Medina; and continued on this section line until it had passed through Union, where it "zig-zagged" to the northeast into Northampton and "zig-zagged" to the northwest, and left Hallock at the middle line of Section 3 and left La Prairie Township in Marshall County in Section 3; and from there to Section 34 of Milo Township, Bureau County. The location of Milo Township in Bureau County is interesting as it neighbors with Osceola Township in Stark County on the west, Saratoga Township in Marshall County on the south and together with Wheatland, Putnam County on the east.

After the Trail had left Section 34 it passed through the head of Boyd's Grove on Section 15 of Milo Town-

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

ship and then over the site of Providence on the southeast quarter of Section 17, and then by the south end of Bulbona's Grove on Section 30 in Wyand Township and across the Sauk Trail. It then "met" a point of timber in Section 33 of Bureau Township and ran through Red Oak Grove and left the county not far from the northwest corner of this township. The Red Oak Grove was in the southern parts of Sections 1 and 2 and the northern parts of Sections 11 and 12 of Walnut Township, extending into Ohio Township. Joseph (Dad Joe) Smith had settled on Section 4 of Ohio Township and the present village of Ohio was built upon the edge of this grove.

Some of these groves and villages would be merely names to the present generation unless we record some of the history connected with them. We have given what we consider incidents worthy of mention connected with the beginning of the Trail and points along the way, and detailed descriptions of the Trails through the Hallock hills. As stated before, the Kellogg Trail after leaving Peoria County and Marshall County ran through the head of Boyd's Grove. The land which was purchased by Charles S. Boyd and to which his name has been attached for the last century, was entered by John Dixon, who in 1825 was clerk of the circuit court, clerk of the county court, and incumbent of several other offices, in the Peoria County government. He still held his offices after entering the land and moving onto the same in 1828, because this territory, as well as all the rest of the territory to the north, was attached to Peoria County for the purpose of jurisdiction. As it has been recorded in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, John Dixon moved to the Rock River country in 1830, and purchased the ferry of the half-breed Indian, Ogee, whose remains now rest in the Dixon cemetery. It has been mentioned before that Dixon had been given the contract



SCALE:



DRAWN BY ~E. BERNARD HULSEBUS-1934.

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THE
TRAIL
AND
COACH ROAD

FROM

PEORIA COUNTY

FIN

TO

DIXON

K E Y:

TRAIL

COACH ROAD

SCALE:

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for carrying the mail from Peoria to Galena and had induced Joseph Ogee to operate a ferry across the Rock River in the vicinity of the old Indian ferry. Dixon afterwards platted the town of Dixon and became its most illustrious citizen. Two of his grandsons are now well known residents of the city of Dixon. While John Dixon is recorded in the history of Sangamon County, Peoria County and Bureau County, his name will be associated by all historians with the city of Dixon.

After being joined by the Knoxville and Galena road which passed near the present sites of Toulon and Wyoming and Holgate's Grove in Stark County, the trail passed from Boyd's Grove to what was known as Highland Point. When the settlement from Providence, Rhode Island, was made at this place it was called Providence. From Providence the trail led to Bulbona's Grove. Bulbona, whose proper name was Bourbonais, settled on the edge of this grove in 1828 and remained there until Black Hawk and his allies started their raids on the citizens of Bureau County. From miscellaneous records it appears that Bulbona had at one time lived in Peoria and at another time had traded on the east side of the river near the Hartzell trading house. An incident connected with the Bulbona cabin and the family of Bulbona in the early part of 1832, cannot be overlooked when discussing Bulbona Grove and its first settlers.

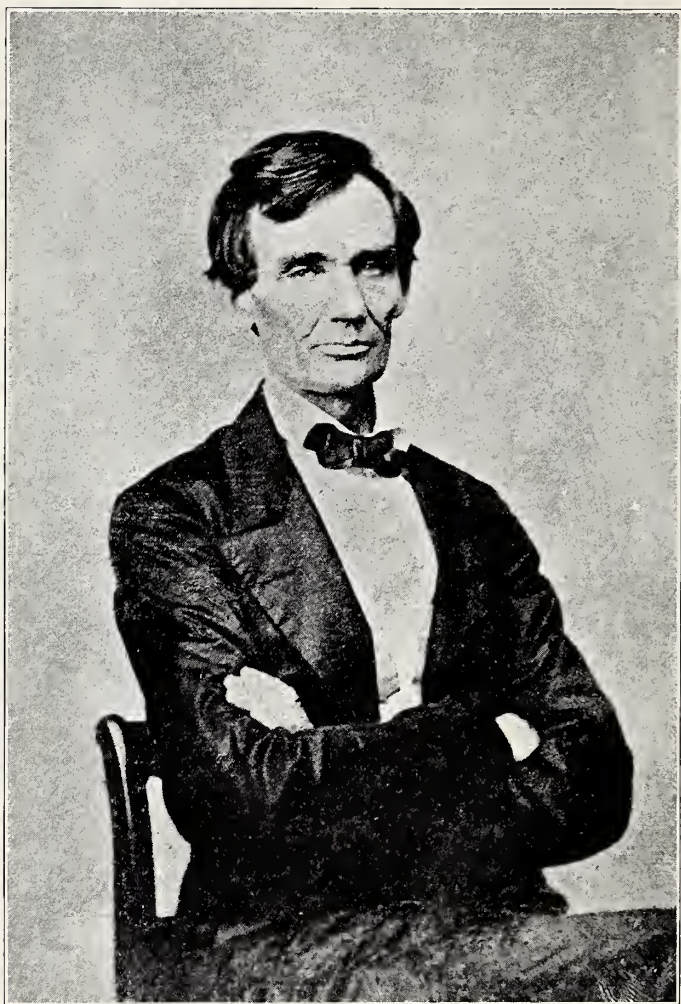
As his name indicates, Bulbona was a Frenchman but his wife was a squaw. At the time mentioned, their daughter, Zeffa, had two lovers; one a fine looking young Indian from Indiantown and the other a French trader from Peoria. The mother's choice was the young Indian and the father's choice was the Frenchman. After a considerable period of rivalry, the two met at the home of Zeffa and the Frenchman entered into negotiations with the Indian and induced him to withdraw his offer

of marriage to Zeffa for twenty-one blankets and fifty strings of beads. Soon after, the wedding was arranged and the Frenchman came up from Peoria with a priest stationed at this point. He also brought a Peoria fiddler along. Bulbona had invited all his friends in the surrounding territory, Frenchmen, Indians and half-breeds. On the night of the wedding, Colonel Strowbridge, Dad Joe Smith and Henry Thomas, who had been at Peoria and were on their way home over the Peoria and Galena Trail, were passing Bulbona's place and were invited to stop and join in the wedding festivities. In addition to the other guests, some forty-five Indians were gathered outside of the house. When the white people ate and drank the Indians ate and drank. When the white people danced the Indians danced and squatted and yelled, but all in good nature. Sometimes the guests danced Indian dances and sometimes they danced French dances. While the ceremony was going on a pack of dogs heard another dog barking inside the cabin and rushed in and commenced barking at the priest. Bulbona kicked the dogs and this made them start fighting, and in the struggle the priest was thrown down, his robes torn and his face scratched. There was a good deal of swearing at the dogs, both in Indian dialect and French, and even the priest denounced them. Just at the beginning of the wedding ceremony, a light covered wagon drove up to the door and one of the occupants asked for shelter for the night. Bulbona told them that his house was full because of the wedding of his daughter, but on closer observation he saw that they were army officers and invited them to take a drink and to stay for the party. They accepted. The driver of the wagon was Mr. Kilgore of Peoria, and he related the story to N. Matson of Princeton, in 1872. The bridegroom in after years related the story to more than one citizen in the early Illinois valley. Kilgore had



SCENES ALONG THE TRAIL AND ROAD

The Red Covered Bridge near Princeton, the L. C. Root House (upper right), the "Dad Joe" Memorial (lower left), site of the Meredith Tavern.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A figure of the Trail from 1832 to 1858.

been hired by these officers, whose headquarters were at Prairie du Chien, to take them in his wagon as far as Galena and as it was nighttime when they reached this point, they were naturally seeking shelter. The officers were Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, afterwards President of the Southern Confederacy and a Captain Smith. They all partook of the hospitalities of the good Bulbona and Davis joined in the dances. He drank quite liberally of the liquor that was there in abundance. He was especially attracted by a very beautiful young Indian girl who was the niece of Mrs. Bulbona, and as the evening advanced he became quite intoxicated, not only with the liquor but by the beauty of the girl. In his *Reminiscences*, Matson gives the following account. Davis would dance with no one else (other than the girl mentioned) and he would change each dance into a waltz so that he could put his arms around the girl. His ardent attention became distasteful to the Indian maiden and she believed herself insulted. She told her brother, a young powerful Indian, and he proceeded at once toward Davis with the intention of avenging the insult. As he lunged for Davis, the young officer drew his pistol but Colonel Taylor grasped the weapon and pushed Davis outside the house. Taylor, Smith and Davis with Kilgore proceeded along the road to the cabin of Henry Thomas, six miles to the north.

We cannot pass by the remainder of the story of Davis and Colonel Taylor. Davis had met the daughter of Taylor at Vincennes and later asked the Colonel's sanction of his proposal of marriage. Taylor objected to the marriage, and no doubt the scene at Bulbona's did not add to the reputation of Davis. Notwithstanding the Colonel's opposition, the marriage took place at a later date and they went to live on a plantation adjoining that

of an elder brother of Davis. Both bride and groom were taken with a southern fever and the bride died singing an old love song which Davis had taught her. Tate, one of the biographers of Jefferson Davis, states that the husband was carried to the bedside of his dying wife but that she died without regaining consciousness.

At the battle of Buena Vista, Colonel Taylor was being hard pressed by the Mexicans when a young Captain rushed his company into the conflict and held back the left wing of the Mexican advance. Taylor won the battle and when it was over he rode up to the young Captain and congratulated him upon his bravery and efficiency as a soldier, and added, "Captain Davis, I also know that my daughter was a better judge of men than I am."

When Taylor, Davis, Smith and Kilgore left Bulbona's they went to the cabin of Henry Thomas, afterwards Fort Thomas, as before stated. After remaining here for the night, Kilgore finished his contract to carry these officers to Galena.

From this cabin the road continued through Bureau Township into Walnut Township, crossing the old Indian boundary near the southeast portion of that township and then on to Red Oak, leaving Bureau County at the northwest corner of Ohio Township and entering East Grove Township in Lee County; but this road was changed by Joseph (Dad Joe) Smith. Dad Joe had been one of the first commissioners of Peoria County but had left in 1827 or 1828 to settle on the land of the Sac and Fox which he had heard had been abandoned. After arriving there he found it was a dangerous place to stay and left Rock Island County for Bureau County where he arrived in 1829. In 1830, he settled near the grove that bore his name.

It was in 1831 that Dad Joe, while road commissioner of Jo Daviess County, built a bridge over what was called

the Inlet and changed the road to pass by his cabin; and after that the road left Bureau County on Section 4 of Ohio Township. Not only the old Boyd's Grove and Providence Trail passed by Dad Joe's cabin, but when the state legislature laid out the state road by the way of Tiskilwa and Princeton this state road also passed by his cabin.

The Peoria and Galena Coach Road, which became a well traveled road from 1833 to some time in the 1850s, extended northeast from Northampton and, accommodating itself to the conditions of the territory, passed through the valley and on to Tiskilwa. The first stage of this Tiskilwa road was to the J. B. Meredith tavern, the site of which is well marked. Travelers from north to south and east to west met at the old tavern and discussed the incidents of the day and told stories of still earlier days when the Sac and Fox and the Girty band of outlaws were scouring the country to find victims. The traveler who had reached the Meredith tavern could turn to the northwest and go by the Boyd's Grove route on the old trail, as many were inclined to do. This was the route chosen by the J. B. Winter's stage coach line, which was doing a large business in the 1840s and later. However, the majority of travelers took the valley road to Tiskilwa. A trip through the Hallock hills and the valley into Tiskilwa in dry weather is entirely worth while.

TISKILWA

No one would pass by the earlier history of Tiskilwa. Modern Tiskilwa is a flourishing little city located upon the southeast quarter of Section 12 and the northeast quarter of Section 13 of Indiantown and a small strip of land on the south side of the southwest quarter of Section 7, and the northwest quarter of Section 18 in Arispie Township, Bureau County. It is located on the Big

Bureau which flows from the northeast corner of Section 1 of Indiantown into the northwest corner of Section 7, and after passing Tiskilwa bends back into Arispie and Leepertown and finally flows into the Illinois River. No town was more important in the land of the Potawatomi, with the village of Gomo on the Senachwine and Senachwine's village in the beautiful valley near his last resting place, Waba's village, the village of Comas, the village of Waubonsie, Shick-Shack at Clear Creek, Markwheat at Lacon and Shaubena visiting throughout the neighborhood. Two great councils were called to meet on the banks of the Bureau in old Indiantown. One was in June of 1830. It was the annual feast of the Indians. They killed a number of their favorite dogs and erected several altars in the midst of the encampment so that they might offer sacrifices to the Great Spirit. The story of this meeting has been written by several and the descriptions have been approved by such men as John L. Ament who heard the songs and religious ceremonies during a three days' meet at that point. Adam Paine, the great missionary, came to attend this annual feast and was accompanied by the most savage of the half-breeds, Mike Girty, whose home for the greater part of the time was among the Indians of Indiantown. Black Hawk had come to attend the feast so that he might persuade the Potawatomi to join the Sac and Fox in driving the white people out of northern Illinois. Senachwine was there. Shaubena, Waba, and Waubonsie were there. Waubonsie had a grudge against the white people because they had driven him away from his old village at the mouth of the Fox Rixer. Autuckee was chief of all the Indian bands which had their villages in and around the present site of Tiskilwa, and Meomusee was a sort of assistant chief. Senachwine was eighty-six years of age and with his lofty brow and long gray hair and evidences of great

physical strength, was an impressive figure. Probably no one in all the assembly, however, stood out so prominently as Adam Paine, the preacher. He was tall and large with a high forehead, piercing black eyes, black beard which hung in clusters over his breast. He had a wonderful voice and tremendous energy. The outlaw and fiendish half-breed murderer, Mike Girty, followed him everywhere that he was allowed to follow him so that he might hear him speak and translate his words into the dialect of the Potawatomi. Paine was delivering a wonderful sermon and it was having great effect upon the Indians, and Black Hawk realized it. As Paine continued in his enthusiasm and as the Indians were paying still greater attention to what he said, Black Hawk jumped to his feet, waved his tomahawk over his head, and shouted that such preaching was fit only for white men and squaws. Black Hawk was not an orator but had a savage manner in presenting his case that appealed to a great many Indians. We will remember that all the historians who have written of the Sac and Fox spoke of Keokuk as the orator and diplomat and of Black Hawk as the warrior. Black Hawk said one time, "Keokuk make speeches, Black Hawk win victories." After Black Hawk had spoken for some time, denouncing the whites for their encroachment upon the rights of the Indians and the cruel treatment that the Sac and Fox had received in having their lands taken away from them by trickery and driven from the land by force, he called upon all the chiefs to join with the Sac and Fox and Winnebago in driving the intruders from the land and keeping their homes and villages for themselves and protecting the graves of their fathers.

After Black Hawk had seated himself, Senachwine rose and with impressive dignity said: "For more than seventy years I have hunted in this grove and fished in this stream,

and for as many years I have worshipped on this ground. Through these groves, and over these prairies in pursuit of game, our fathers have roamed, and by them this land was left unto us an heritage forever. No one is more attached to his home than myself, and no one among you is so grieved to leave it. But the time is near at hand, when the red men of the forest will have to leave the land of their nativity, and find a home towards the setting sun. The white man of the east, whose numbers are like the sands of the sea, will overrun and take possession of this country. They will build wigwams and villages all over the land, and their domain will extend from sea to sea. In my boyhood days I have chased the buffalo across the prairies, and hunted elk in the grove; but where are they now? Long since they have left us; the near approach of the white man has scared them away. The deer and the turkey will go next, and with them, the sons of the forest. Resistance to the aggression of the whites is useless; war is wicked and must result in our ruin. Therefore, let us submit to our fate, return not evil for evil, as this would offend the Great Spirit and bring ruin upon us. The time is near at hand when our race will be extinct, and nothing left to show to the world that we ever did exist. As for myself I have no reflections for the past, nor have I any misgivings for the future; my race is nigh run, and soon I will be gathered to my fathers. My bones will be laid away in that beautiful green knoll, which overlooks the valley of Senachwine, and my spirit will go to that happy hunting ground, where my fathers before me have gone. Our white friend (Paine) has been telling us of a Savior who died to save the world. Of this Savior I know nothing; but this I do know, the monitor within my breast has taught me the will of the Great Spirit, and now tells me that good Indians will be rewarded, and bad ones punished. My

friends, do not listen to the words of Black Hawk for he is trying to lead you astray. Do not imbrue your hands in human blood; for such is the work of the evil one, and will bring only retribution upon our own heads." Black Hawk left the meeting in disgust and after the Indians had finished their ceremonies and paid their devotion to the Great Spirit, the council broke up and all the Indians started for their own villages.

The council house was on a little green knoll near the bank of the Bureau Creek between what is now the railroad station and the site of the old Stevens' mill. The site of the council house was pointed out to the writer by B. N. Stevens, grandson of the owner of the mill.

Indian councils were not new in that part of the territory. There had been a council at the mouth of Epperson's Run several years before this time. There was a council at the mouth of Crow Creek on June 21, 1827, when General Cass through his interpreter, Mike Girty, carried a message to the Indians of the Potawatomi land. Cass described the events surrounding the council of 1827 to several of his Illinois friends, among them our oft-quoted Matson. Cass gave a medal to Mike Girty because of his services as interpreter at this council and when the remains of Girty were found half-devoured by the wolves, this medal was still hanging from the string around his neck. Girty becomes part of our story because he was interpreter for Cass at the mouth of Crow Creek and for Paine at the council of 1830; because he was a resident of Indiantown or Wappa, and because his last journey was through Princeton out along the old Peoria and Galena Road where his remains were later found.

In 1832, there was another council called to meet in Indiantown. Black Hawk had been instrumental in having this council called. Shaubena was there as well as

Waba, Waubonsie, Autuckee, Meomusee, the Prophet whose village was on the Rock River, and others. Girty was there and was refused permission to speak until the pleas of the Sac and Fox gained him this privilege. The Potawatomi had no respect for Girty. He was a half-breed and even to the most savage of the tribes of the Potawatomi land, was a bad Indian. Again the council adjourned without Black Hawk's gaining the assistance of the Potawatomi.

After the Indians had left old Indiantown, Dr. Augustus Langworthy of Peoria, acquired the land. He surveyed and platted the village which he called Windsor. It took in old Indiantown with its corn fields and dance grounds. A prospectus was made which showed two or three public squares and well improved roads branching to Chicago, St. Louis, Springfield, Rock Island and Peoria; and a great ship canal connecting the Illinois with the Mississippi River. Copies of this prospectus were sent out and some lots were sold. This gained the attention of J. W. Kinney, who obtained possession of the land adjoining Windsor and called it West Windsor. West Windsor is the site upon which the Indiantown portion of Tiskilwa was located. There was considerable rivalry between the village on the Indiantown side of the line and the Arispie village, but they were united in 1840 and became the flourishing village of Tiskilwa. Nearly all the land in Indiantown Township was taken up by the members of the corporation who settled Providence in 1836. This corporation, owning 17,000 acres of land, consisted of seventy stockholders holding from one to sixteen shares each. All the vacant land in Indiantown was entered and some in the adjoining townships.

The old road led north out of Tiskilwa to Princeton.

PRINCETON

We have outlined the old trail which passed by the corner of Boyd's Grove, Providence, Milo, Bulbona's Grove and about six miles west of Princeton, through the western limits of the present city of Wyandot and by the cabin of Henry Thomas four miles farther north, and on to Dad Joe Grove and still on to Dixon. The state road passed from Northampton through the valley of the Bureau to Tiskilwa and then on to Princeton and across the Sauk Trail, and then on to the east line of Dover Township and across the old Indian boundary line in the lower part of the township and then on to Dad Joe Grove.

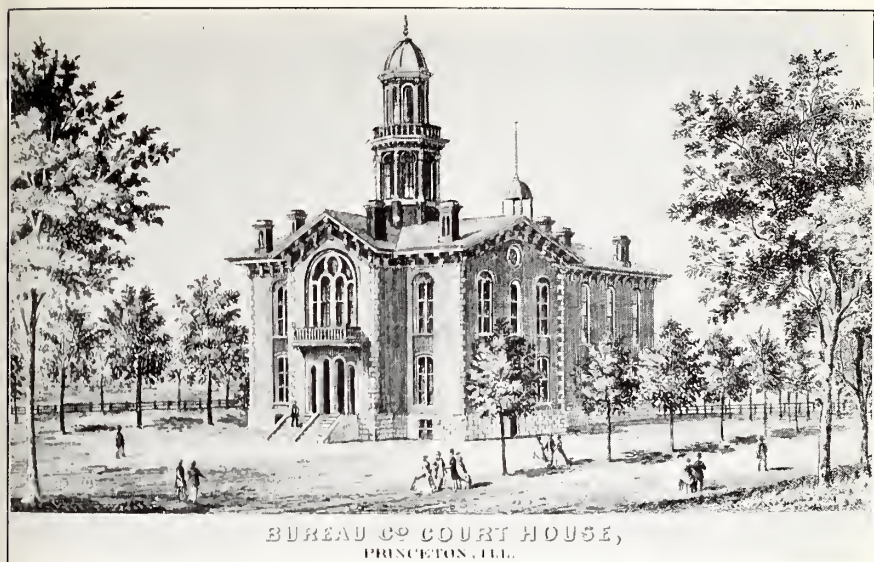
The first house in Princeton was erected the same year that the state road was located. Princeton is one of the so-called community towns. Members of the Congregational church at Northampton, Massachusetts, decided to migrate to the western country and when they had reached the Illinois River they sent out representatives who selected for settlement the land upon which Princeton was built. The first church was built on the site now occupied by the county court house and was known as the Colony Church. Among some of the earlier citizens were John H. Bryant, brother of William Cullen Bryant, and other members of the Bryant family. William Cullen Bryant often visited his brother and other relatives here and on such occasions visited the Brown family at Elmwood. Princeton was incorporated in 1838, and has always been recognized as a center of importance to all that region. It was in this city that Owen Lovejoy preached many of his sermons against slavery after the death of his brother at Alton. It was here that Thomas Henderson came after having resided for some time in Stark County. Henderson had taught school in the village of Toulon, had become clerk of the county commissioners' court, had studied law

and had been elected to the legislature. His father, Colonel Henderson, before he moved to Iowa, had also been a member of the legislature, and both father and son were intimate friends of Abraham Lincoln. Thomas J. Henderson was instrumental in raising a regiment of soldiers to go to the front in 1861, and afterwards rose to the rank of general. When the war closed he returned to Toulon, but later moved to Princeton. Later he was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue at Peoria. Still later he was elected to Congress where he served for twenty years. He introduced the bill for the construction of the Hennepin canal and it was largely through his efforts that the canal was built.

The first township high school in Illinois was organized in Princeton. At one time there were more graduates from colleges and universities, per capita, in Princeton than in any other city in the state of Illinois, not having a local college.

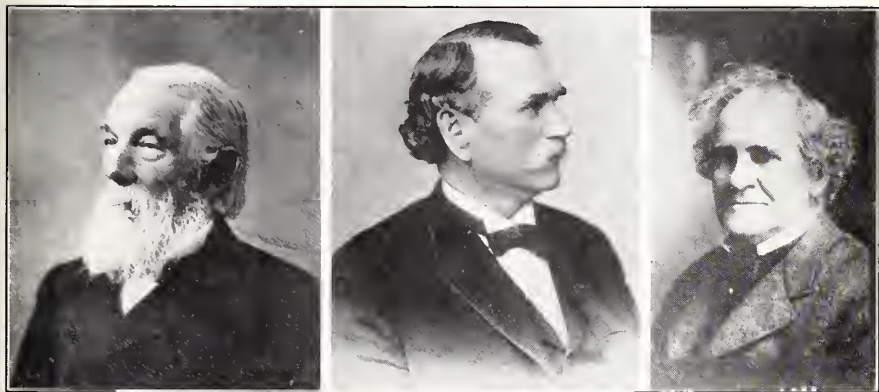
Princeton was the home of N. Matson. It was through the efforts of Matson and his contribution of money that the Matson Library was constructed. He performed a great service for the people of this generation when he interviewed all the living descendants of the citizens of old La Ville de Maillet and of the village at the Rock and gathered other information from which we have quoted. Through the courtesy of the librarian at Princeton and the Hon. Cairo A. Trimble, the writer became satisfied that the statements made by Matson were based upon information that he had received or upon what he believed to be true after making the fullest investigations.

Princeton and vicinity have produced a number of men and women whose names have been known throughout the Peoria neighborhood and beyond. Lillian Whiting was a Washington correspondent and writer of verses and short sketches. Bureau County furnished an assistant to



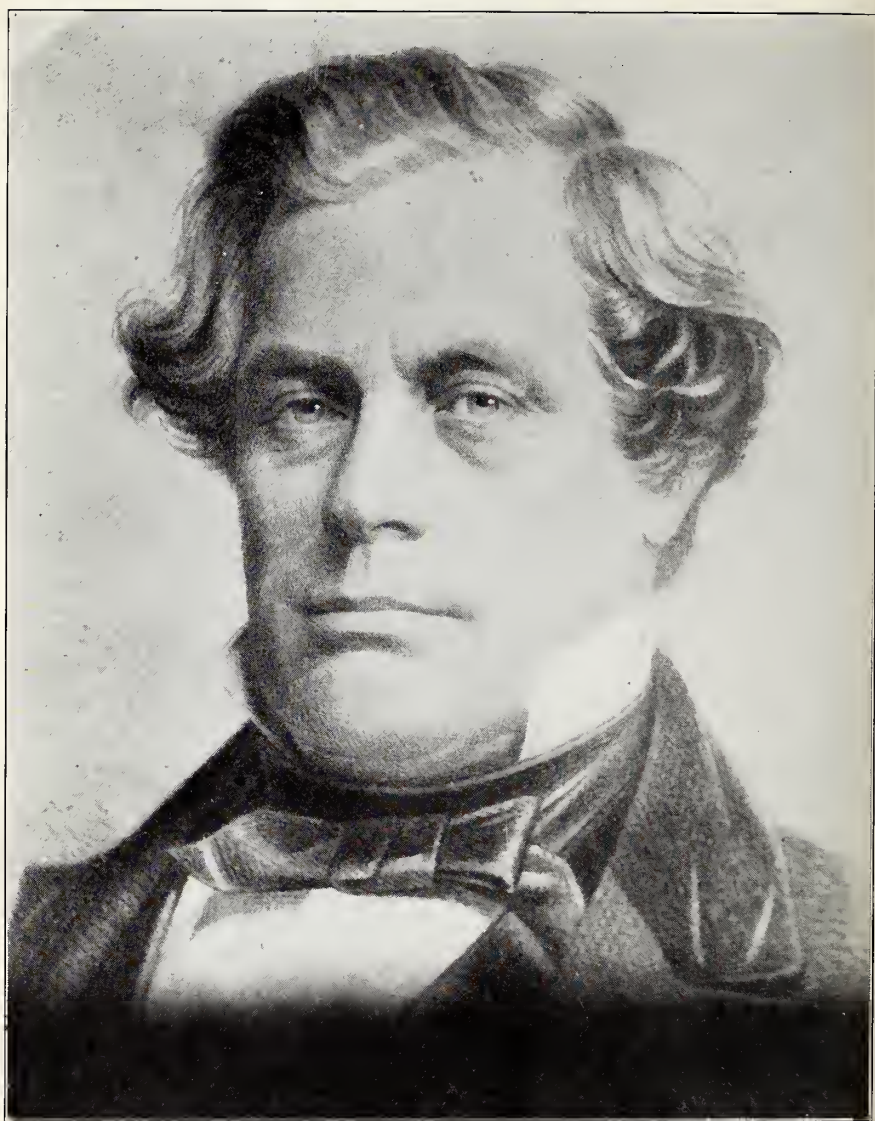
BUREAU COUNTY COURT HOUSE

From an early lithograph. The building is still in use.



PROMINENT MEN OF BUREAU AND LEE COUNTIES

John H. Bryant and Thomas J. Henderson of Princeton,
B. F. Shaw of Dixon.



OWEN LOVEJOY

"Uncle Remus" and an assistant to Lorado Taft; also the man who improved the method of sending telegraph messages, and the man who built the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The latter two found an opportunity to work for their board during the winter in the local railroad stations. The late Senator Dolliver, who was authority for the above statements, remarked in his lectures that they received their board for sweeping out and selling tickets; that they were not allowed to sell many tickets but swept out all the time. An expert of the Treasury Department is the son of a past principal of the Princeton township high school and state senator from that district. A county newspaper with the largest weekly circulation in the United States is published in Princeton.

As before stated, the road from Princeton led on to Dad Joe Grove which was near the present site of Ohio, and then on through Lee County to the Rock River, the present site of Dixon.

ROCK RIVER CROSSINGS

According to Edward E. Wingert and others, the Indians, trappers and traders had used the crossing where the Ogee ferry and the Dixon ferry were located long before the establishment of the Kellogg Trail and the Peoria and Galena Road. In 1824, John L. Bogardus, the ferryman at Peoria, had sent a Mr. Doty, great-grandfather of the late George Doty, assistant manager of the Creve Coeur Club, to build a cabin and construct a ferry at this point; but the Indians destroyed the cabin and the boats which were being constructed and said, "Puckachee, White man," and Doty hurriedly left the scene.

It was in 1825 that Oliver W. Kellogg, a brother-in-law of John Dixon, broke a trail from his cabin to Dixon, crossing the Rock River in the vicinity of Hazel-

wood, and it was in the same year that Kellogg with several others followed this trail to the Rock River ferry and then to Highland Point, where Providence was founded, and to the northeast corner of Boyd's Grove and then to Northampton, the gateway to the south, and on to Peoria. In 1826, John Boles found a shorter trail. This trail ran from Galena a mile east of Polo and then to the Rock River to a point a little east of where the Illinois Central bridge at Dixon crosses this stream.

In 1827, when John Dixon received his contract to carry the mail from Peoria to Galena, he knew of the negligence of the Indian ferryman at the Rock River crossing; and therefore, sent the half-breed, Joseph Ogee, who by the spring of 1828, had a new ferry in operation which was known "far and near" as Ogee's ferry. Ogee had been a resident of Peoria and owned the first hewn log cabin in the village. It was in his cabin that church services were first held and the first school assembled. It was in this building that the first court was held. He lived at one time on the river bank in what afterwards became Longshore, and on the west side of the Galena road on land now owned by the Peoria Water Company. At another time, he lived in Medina Township; and Lewis Hallock boarded with him. While in Medina Township, his neighbors spelled the name "Osier." In Peoria County he was a man of considerable prominence, but failed in operating the ferry on the Rock River because of his fondness for liquor. Even after he started the ferry he served on the grand jury in Peoria County as he had done more than once before. Mrs. Kinzie in *Wau-Bun* tells of seeing an Indian boy at the home of John Dixon, and upon inquiry found that he was the son of Ogee and that the mother of the boy had gone back to her tribe because of the continued drunkenness of Ogee. After the half-breed had failed in giving proper

attention to the ferry, John Dixon, who still had the contract for carrying the mail from Peoria to Galena, purchased the ferry and removed from his cabin at Boyd's Grove to the present site of Dixon. Bureau County and Lee County, as well as most of the territory to the north, were then part of Peoria County; and Dixon had still remained circuit clerk and clerk of the county commissioners' court, while he lived at Boyd's Grove in what is now Bureau County. When he concluded to move to the Rock River, he sold his land to Charles S. Boyd; and thus we have the name of the grove. Dixon's ferry was at the foot of Hennepin Avenue and his cabin a short distance away. In 1835, forty acres had been surveyed and platted "extending from the river to one-half block south of Third Street, one-half block west of Ottawa Avenue to one-half block west of Peoria Avenue." In 1832, the only family at the ferry was that of John Dixon, and yet it was a place of great importance to all the people north of the Illinois River. During the Black Hawk War it was a point for the assembly of officers and troops, and during this year John Dixon entertained at his table Zachary Taylor, Jefferson Davis, Robert Anderson, Albert Sidney Johnston, Abraham Lincoln, and others.

There are many thousands of young men and young women, particularly in Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin, who remember the old Northern Illinois Normal School and Business University which had a session of eleven months per year, where the student might pursue as many studies in any term as his capabilities and strength would permit. Before that time, there was another business college in Dixon which was known all over the central part of the United States. There are few people in Illinois who have not heard of the "big elm" which was probably the largest tree of its kind in the Mississippi valley. Dixon

itself is a city of unusual beauty. There are many beautiful spots which can be easily reached, and were easily reached even in the old days of the horse and buggy, and by the canoes and boats on the beautiful Rock River. How often we hear persons far distant from Dixon speak joyfully of Fuller's Cave, Grand Detour, and Franklin Grove. It would take more than one chapter to describe the beauties of the river and the hills and the splendid drives and the beauty spots which are now within a few minutes drive of the city of John Dixon. One chapter would not be sufficient to tell all the incidents connected with the life of the founder of this city. The name given him by the Indians, "Nachusa," as now used, has been perpetuated in the name of Dixon's chief hotel and in one of the villages and one of the townships of the county of Lee. In the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1927, Edward E. Wingert has an excellent article, not only on the Rock River crossings but on the early days of Dixon and the Peoria and Galena Trail and other trails.

The present dam was erected in 1903, and Dixon is now the site of a low-head hydro-electric power station. It was constructed in 1925 by the Illinois Northern Utilities Company and used in conjunction with the great steam plant for the supplying of electricity for a large part of the northwestern portion of the state.

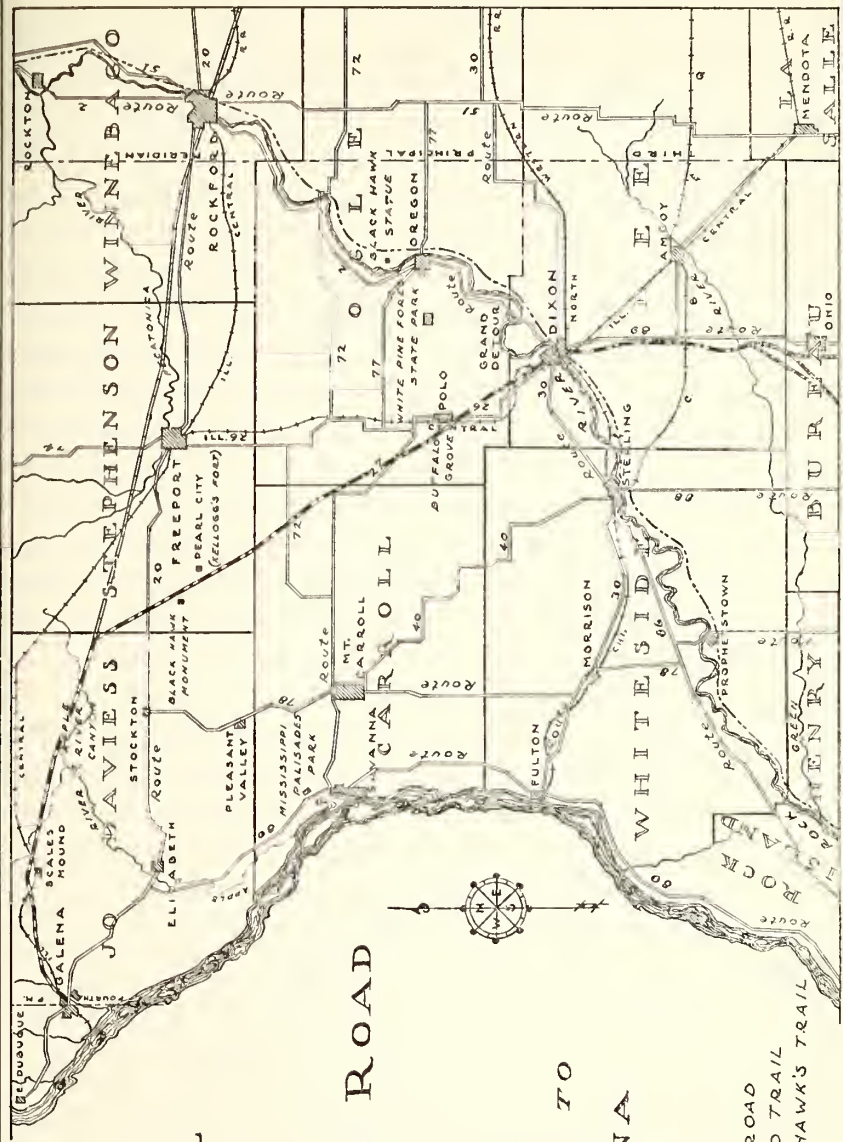
FROM DIXON TO GALENA

After crossing Rock River the road extended to Buffalo Grove near the present site of Polo which was sixteen miles from Dixon. In 1827, Kellogg's cabin at Buffalo Grove became the Kellogg tavern. He had been at what was known as Kellogg's Fort near the present site of Pearl City, but because of the interference of the Indians he established himself at the Buffalo Grove site. As the

THE TRAIL AND COACH ROAD FROM DIXON TO GALENA



- KEY:
- TRAIL
 - COACH ROAD
 - CHICAGO TRAIL
 - BLACK HAWK'S TRAIL



DRAWN BY E. BERNARD HULSEBOS - 1884.

country developed there was more than one trail from Buffalo Grove, but the old route was the more direct route. Later on there was a route from Peoria by the way of Prophetstown, crossing the Rock River at that point and continuing to the present site of Mt. Carroll in Ogle County and then on to Pleasant Valley and Elizabeth, and the site of the Apple River fort.

In the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for January, 1925, Edward L. Burchard, in an interesting article, outlines all the trails in the northwestern part of the state and it is hardly necessary to retrace them.

From Buffalo Grove on the old trail it was a distance of thirty-five miles to Galena. It was a hundred and sixty miles from Peoria to Galena by the way of Boyd's Grove and Providence. It was about a hundred and sixty miles by the way of Tiskilwa, Princeton and Dad Joe Grove. It was two hundred twenty miles by the way of the Peoria and Rock Island trail and up the Mississippi River to Galena.

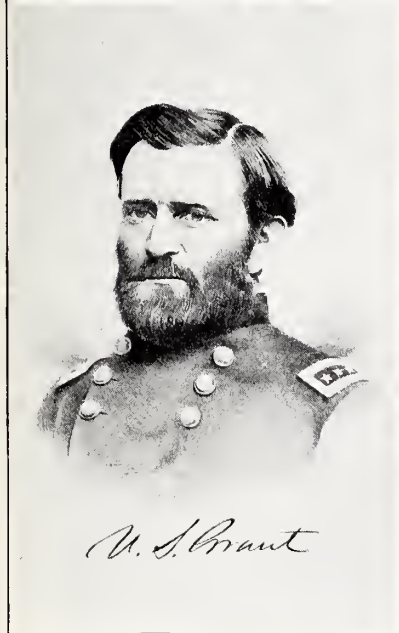
Blanchard, in his "Historical Map of Illinois," shows the Kellogg Trail as bending a little to the north from Galena and then running southeast through the southwest corner of Stephenson and then almost to the northeast corner of Carroll and then west of southwest through Ogle and the northern part of Lee to Dixon. Near the line between Jo Daviess and Stephenson counties we have a mark of Dement's battle of 1832. We also find the words, "O. W. Kellogg, 1827," at the west middle of Stephenson County. Kellogg made his first trip in 1825 and marked the trail to Galena and afterwards came back from Galena over the same trail and on down to Peoria. Some testimony shows that Kellogg and others drove hogs from Peoria to Galena over this trail. This does not contradict the other statement.

There is a mail route marked "1834" running from

Galena to Dixon over another trail and from Dixon through Lee, DeKalb, Aurora in Kane, and Fort Paine to Chicago, in 1832.

After Peoria County was established in 1825, the Galena territory, as well as all the rest of Illinois north of the Illinois River and west of the Kankakee, was attached to Peoria County for the purposes of jurisdiction. Galena was one of the voting precincts of Peoria County from 1825 to 1827, but the election returns were taken to the county seat but once. No taxes were levied on the citizens of Galena during those two years. However, for many years there was constant travel by stage coach, private conveyance and on foot between the village on Peoria lake and the thriving community in the lead region. There is a wealth of history surrounding Galena and the neighboring territory. Some of it reaches back to the days of the grant by the French king and the bringing of negroes to work the lead mines; and to Le Sueur, the French trader who came in 1700, and the great rush of men of all ages in 1824, and later, to the mines where they believed there was a great opportunity to become wealthy. Nearly all the able-bodied men at Peoria found their way to the mining camps in Galena. The first of these to go went by the way of Rock Island and up the trail along the Mississippi; and after 1825, as it has been stated, they took the Kellogg Trail and what became the Peoria and Galena Coach Road. There are many beautiful drives over the state highways that will bring one to the present city of Galena. There is much to attract the traveler to this region, not only history but scenery as well. Many writers have told of the historic buildings which still exist or where sites are marked. Among these are the blockhouse and stockade erected by the inhabitants in 1832, at the corner of Elk and Prospect streets, to defend themselves against

the Indians; and Branton's tavern on Council Hill where Black Hawk and Col. Henry Gratiot, Indian agent for that territory, held a council. Also, there is the Nicholas Dowling house, the oldest standing house in Galena, which was built in 1819. This is the year that the first English-speaking people came to old Fort Clark and established what became the village of Peoria and the city of Peoria. On Bench Street we find the house of Grant Bales which was erected in 1847, and the old tavern, the Union House, built in 1839; the site of the postoffice erected in 1840, and the site of the county court house erected in 1839. One of the most notable buildings in the city is the DeSoto House. Lincoln spoke from the balcony of this hotel and Jenny Lind sang here. When Grant returned from his trip around the world, he was given a great reception at this famous tavern. Interest and respect continue as we visit the home of General Grant on High Street, the Grant Memorial Home erected in 1865, the Grant monument in Grant Park which was donated by Herman H. Kohlsaas, famous in the newspaper business as well as in other enterprises. Kohlsaas erected this monument and the dedication speech was made by Chauncey M. DePew. There is a Methodist church which was built upon the site of the old building erected in 1833. Bishop Vincent, whose name is connected with the organization of chautauquas, was one of its pastors. The Grant pew in this church is marked with a plate. In 1835, Father Mazzuchelli was the parish priest of St. Michael's Church. If we travel to High Street, we will find the oldest Galena cemetery; and on Bench Street we will find the Turner Hall built many years ago. On Market Square we will find an old tavern built in 1830, which bears the name of the Lawrence House. If we have



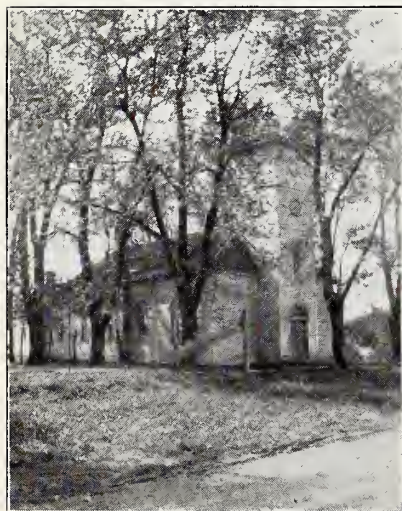
GRANT OF GALENA

Grant's home at the outbreak of the Civil War, Grant as President (upper right), Grant the Soldier (lower left), the surrender of Lee at Appomattox.



A PEORIA LANDMARK

The home of Robert G. Ingersoll before he moved into the Cockle house.



HIGH SPOTS OF THE TRAIL

The old church at Providence and the site of the Thomas fort near Wyanet.

the time, we may drive to January's Point which preserves the name of one of the early settlers.

The tourists should read the articles of E. E. Wingert and Edward L. Burchard heretofore referred to when driving from Peoria to Galena and they should also read the article by Florence Gratiot Bale, "Galena's Memories of General U. S. Grant" which was published in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for October, 1928.

There is a long list of illustrious names connected with the history of Galena. Among these are John J. Hill, the railroad builder, Elihu B. Washburne, Grant's Secretary of State and Ambassador to France; and the other Washburnes whose names are connected with the building of the mill industry in Minneapolis; the Kohlsaats, the Gratiots, the Bales, William S. Hamilton and others. It was on the Washburne lawn that General Grant, who had been in Galena for less than a year, drilled the volunteers in 1861. Numerous persons whose names are known throughout the nation have visited Galena. The widow of Alexander Hamilton, mother of William S. Hamilton; Charles Sumner, Chauncey M. DePew, Mrs. Kinzie, the author of *Wau-Bun*; Dolly Madison and others, were entertained by citizens of the famous old town.

Along the entire road there are names of residents of Peoria and Galena and of other towns which belong to the whole trail as well as to the individual communities. O. W. Kellogg had his tavern at Buffalo Grove, but he was the pathfinder; and his brother-in-law, John Dixon, was the mail carrier for the whole road from the river to the lead mines and performed special services for all the towns along the way. One of the Hallock Township early settlers opened a house of entertainment near Buffalo Grove. Dad Joe Smith was commissioner of

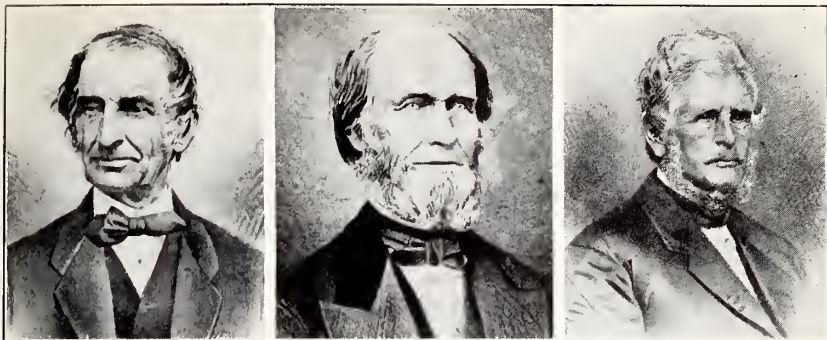
Peoria County, then road viewer for the state road from Northampton to Princeton and beyond, then tavern keeper at Dad Joe Grove in Bureau County; and road commissioner for Jo Daviess County. He could be claimed by all the counties from river to river. Thomas Forsythe and Jean Baptiste Maillet, Adam Paine, Senachwine, Shaubena, Autuckee, Gomo, Doctor Langworthy, were followers of the Trail or Coach Road. Forsythe lived at La Ville de Maillet but he traveled the trails all over the Potawatomi country. Jean Baptiste Maillet marched his rangers up and down the river. Adam Paine preached to the Indians all through the Illinois valley. Senachwine, Shaubena, Autuckee and Gomo used every trail on both sides of the river. Doctor Langworthy practised medicine in Peoria, but platted Windsor, which became Tiskilwa, and other towns. All the Potawatomi belonged to the whole trail. The Indians of Kaskaskia and Peoria used the trails on both sides of the river.

Many visitors and soldiers belonged to this road rather than to any point where they stopped. We cannot claim Governor Edwards as he made his trip to the village of Black Partridge along the east side of the river; but in the next year, 1813, we have General Howard marching over what became the Peoria and Galena Trail and over a portion of what became the Peoria and Chicago Trail. From 1825, for more than a quarter of a century, we have the citizens of the territory as well as visitors from all parts of the United States traveling the road on foot or by wagon or stage coach; or on the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad which became the Chicago and Rock Island Railway and followed beside or immediately on the old trail as far as the site of the Illinois Valley Yacht and Canoe Club.

The name of William S. Hamilton is connected not

only with Galena but with the whole Peoria and Galena Trail. There is some authority to support the statement that Hamilton left his home in the East for the purpose of finding Aaron Burr and that he finally met him in St. Louis, and challenged him to fight in the same manner that Burr had challenged his father; and that Burr declined on account of his age. In any event, we find him assistant to the Surveyor General in St. Louis and later assigned to duty at Springfield, Illinois. He laid out a town which he endeavored, unsuccessfully, to have made the county seat of Sangamon County. In 1824, he was elected to the Illinois state legislature. In 1825, he was selected by Governor Coles to meet General La Fayette at St. Louis and conduct him to Kaskaskia. Upon the visit of La Fayette to Illinois, Hamilton became his interpreter. Alexander Hamilton had been interpreter for General La Fayette in the Revolutionary days, and one author deems it worthy of comment to state that William S. Hamilton learned French from the same book, with the same ink blots and pencil notations, that his father had used; and that both learned their French without the aid of a teacher. In the same year, he joined with John Hamlin of Peoria, in driving a large drove of cattle to Fort Howard on Green Bay. It was on this trip that he crossed Ten Mile Creek and became acquainted with Holland, who had been the Indian blacksmith at Peoria; and it was probably through Holland that his attention was called to the village on Peoria Lake. He was sent to Peoria in his official capacity as deputy surveyor. It was in 1825 that he made a survey of the lots owned by the French inhabitants of La Ville de Maillet who were kidnapped and taken away by Captain Craig. Within the same month he made a survey of the village of Peoria from Liberty Street to Fayette Street and from the river front to

Monroe Street. Hamilton's first survey was not accepted because the streets on the plat ran north and south and east and west while the county commissioners decreed that the streets should run parallel to the river and that the cross streets should cross at right angles. History is somewhat vague in regard to the reason for rejecting his survey of the old French claims. It was in this same year at Peoria, that he defended No-Ma-Que, the Indian who had killed a Frenchman in a drunken brawl. He not only defended the Indian but he defended the sheriff after he had been indicted for malfeasance in office for allowing the Indian to escape while an appeal was pending. After the Peoria county commissioners had entered at Edwardsville, the northeast quarter of fractional Section 9 of Township 8, Range 8, as the site for a county seat under the law allowing the entry of public land for such purposes, they found that this fractional section had been entered by Judge Latham at Vincennes, Indiana. The judge's claim had been contested. Appeal was taken from the circuit court of Peoria County to the Supreme Court. The heirs of Judge Latham, the judge having died in the meantime, employed Stephen T. Logan to represent them, and the commissioners of Peoria County employed William S. Hamilton. There was a settlement before the suit came to trial by which the heirs of Judge Latham deeded the land to the county of Peoria, upon the receipt of two notes from John Hamlin, one for \$100.00 and one for \$600.00. This seems to have been Hamilton's last connection with the city of Peoria. However, in 1827, when Red Bird of the Winnebago Indians, went on the warpath, William S. Hamilton walked into the lead mines of Galena; and within a few days was recruiting men to defend the settlement. Colonel Hamilton's name



PROMINENT MEN OF PEORIA AND BUREAU COUNTIES

(Left to right) Moses Pettengill, John Hamlin, Isaac Underhill,
 George C. Bestor, N. Matson, Charles Ballance, Charles S. Boyd,
 Austin Bryant, Cyrus Langworthy.

is closely connected with the history of Galena and southern Wisconsin as well as with the history of Peoria.

The American settlers came in 1819 and soon became acquainted with the trail to the north. It was only six years after the first settlement at the present site of Peoria, that Kellogg marked his trail from Galena to Peoria, and only eight years after this that the mail route was established. Many considered this mail route merely an extension of the routes from the south. On account of the Indian depredations in 1832, it was useless to attempt to carry the mail unless accompanied by soldiers; yet on various parts of the Peoria and Galena road we have much activity and much history in that year. The officers and soldiers assembled at Dixon and traveled over this trail to Galena and to Prairie du Chien. When the war closed, among the soldiers who came down from Whitewater, Wisconsin, to Dixon, were Abraham Lincoln and John T. Stuart. As Lincoln's horse had been stolen the night before his departure from Whitewater, he walked most of the way from Dixon to Peoria. He was given a ride now and then but most of the journey was made on foot. When Lincoln arrived at Peoria, he came to the store of John Hamlin, which was the only store of any consequence in the village of Peoria at that time. He inquired of Hamlin where he might buy a canoe so that he could paddle down the river to Havana. He found the canoe and as several historians have stated, Stuart and Lincoln paddled down to Havana, sold the canoe, and walked across the country, Lincoln to New Salem and Stuart to Springfield. This visit to Peoria was the beginning of the friendship between Lincoln and Hamlin which lasted until the Great Emancipator closed his eyes in death. We have authentic statements from Moses Petengill, who lived in Peoria from 1833 to the time of

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

his death in 1872, that Peoria had thirty log cabins and three frame houses in 1833, and that the principal one of these was occupied by John Hamlin.

As has been stated before, the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad followed the right of way of the old Peoria and Galena Road from the present site of the Illinois Valley Yacht and Canoe Club to a point near the old village. As the people of Peoria were extremely anxious to have the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad enter the town, the village council passed a resolution offering to vacate all streets that the railroad might request to be vacated, and the supervisors passed a resolution giving the railroad the right of way along the old Peoria and Galena Road. Hundreds of thousands of people have traveled over a portion of the Peoria and Galena Road on the Chicago and Rock Island passenger trains.

Martin Van Buren visited in Peoria in 1842, and took a drive along the river, and the majority of the Presidents who followed him drove along or rode over this road. William Henry Harrison knew this trail. Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln traveled it in 1832, and U. S. Grant in 1861. Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Calvin Coolidge, Woodrow Wilson, and Herbert Hoover, all followed along this famous road. From the 1830's to the coming of the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad and until some time thereafter, hundreds of boats sailed up and down the Illinois River carrying thousands of famous men.

Ninian Edwards, who was the territorial governor of Illinois as well as the third governor of the state, led the rangers to the head of Peoria Lake; and nearly all the governors who followed him traveled over the Peoria and Galena Road. We have a record of Ford's interest

in the Trail and Road while he lived in Peoria and before his coming. While probably all the governors after that time traveled the road we can find from the newspapers of the time, as well as from other records, that the following persons traveled a portion of this road or rode over a portion of it — Oglesby, who served from 1865 to 1869 and again from 1885 to 1889, Palmer, Cullom, Hamilton, Fifer, Altgeld, Tanner, Yates, Deneen, Dunne, Lowden, Small, Emmerson and Horner. All the United States senators during the last three-quarters of a century either drove along on the old trail or on the site of the old Trail and Coach Road. Therefore, this highway is notable because of the people who lived in the communities at the ends of the line while these communities were villages and after they became cities; and because of the people who lived in the communities all along the way; and because Indians, soldiers, presidents and governors as well as other prominent characters traveled the Trail and traveled the Coach Road.

A REVIEW OF THE TRAILS AND HIGHWAYS

It might be interesting to note the sites of the old trails in relation to the Illinois highways. Route 88 might be called the western boundary of the Peoria and Galena Road territory between Peoria and Dixon. Route 29, the gravel road to Northampton, the roads through Marshall County to Tiskilwa and Route 89 to Princeton, Ohio, and Dixon might be called the eastern boundary of the territory through which both the trails and the state road passed.

After leaving Adams Street in the city of Peoria, we have the old Trail on the left, passing over the ground now occupied by the Grand View Pavilion, and the present site of the Rock Island Railway. One-half mile farther on we pass the site of the Ferry House and are

opposite the mouth of Ten Mile Creek and the Little Detroit post office. When we reach the Ivy Club we pass the site of the old town of Detroit. The Trail remains close to the site of Route 29, being at times a few feet or a few rods away from the paved road. Near Buffalo Bend, it returns to the site of the Rock Island Railway, crosses High Bridge Creek seventy-five feet west of the present bridge. It continues through Detweiller Park, by the site of the Moss house, and on north five hundred feet west of the Mossville Methodist Church. After the hard road has reached a few rods beyond the John Dickison house it turns a few rods to the northeast and then extends north on the gravel road leading to the territory which we have been describing. In the center of Section 27, Medina Township, the Coach Road which became the state road, and the Kellogg Trail and the Peoria and Galena Mail Route of 1827, divided, the Trail passing on to the north by the Sturm house one-half mile west of the Boylan School and on to the Hiram Reed house where it returned to the site of the present gravel road.

The Coach Road crossed the Dickison Creek a few feet west of the present bridge on the hard road and passed to the east of the gravel road and circled again to the same road where a mile and a half farther north it joined with the Trail, and both roads led to Union and then diagonally to the Chillicothe road. Five hundred feet farther east both trails turned to the north and east and crossed Henry Creek at the site of the old ford. The present road passes under the viaduct of the Santa Fe Railway, close to the hill where the mail for the Spoon River country was placed in the early days, and on into Northampton.

The Blue Ridge road began a few rods north of the relay stables and Reuben Hamlin's tavern where the

store of P. E. Phillips now stands. By traveling four and a half miles on the diagonal Blue Ridge road we reach the county line; and turning a quarter of a mile to the west we reach the L. C. Root house and the Boyd's Grove road. The marks of the old trail are visible in the Prentiss pasture and in the yard in front of the L. C. Root house. This road runs north for ten and a half miles and the entire way is either on or near the site of the Boyd's Grove and Wyanet trail. It then turns one-half mile to the east and runs three and a half miles north to Boyd's Grove. One mile to the north we pass through Milo and five miles farther on, after making a slight "jog," we are opposite the town of Providence. Within the next two miles we pass the Oak Hill cemetery laid out in 1868, and the Catholic cemetery laid out soon afterward. Within the next mile we pass a short distance west of the Bulbona Grove and the site of the Bulbona Tavern, and then some Indian mounds. Within the next two miles we cross the viaduct over the Rock Island Railway, the bridge over the Illinois-Michigan Canal, the viaduct over the C. B. and Q. Railroad, Routes U. S. 6 and 34 and through the western limits of Wyanet. Four miles farther north we reach the site of the Henry Thomas cabin and tavern, which, during the Black Hawk War, was known as the Henry Thomas Fort. This site has been marked by a bronze tablet containing the legend: "Henry Thomas' family, first permanent white settlers in Bureau County, located here May 5, 1828. Colonel Zachary Taylor, later President of the United States, and Jefferson Davis lodged here enroute to Galena on Peoria and Galena state road at beginning of Black Hawk War. Site of Fort Thomas, also first post office in Bureau County. Erected by Bureau County Household Science Club, 1928."

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

The original Trail, according to Matson and others, went on north to the vicinity of Sections 21 and 28, Walnut Township, where it extended diagonally through Red Oak Grove to John L. Ament's cabin and to the northwest corner of Section 6 of Ohio Township near Dad Joe Grove.

The sites of the Kellogg Trail and the Peoria and Galena mail route as well as the Peoria and Galena Coach Road from Peoria to Northampton were pointed out by men who made a map of the territory more than fifty years ago. Therefore, all of the descriptions from Peoria to Northampton are proven. The different sites have been confirmed by a number of persons still alive. We need not question the old Trail and Coach Road as far as Northampton. While the Blue Ridge road, which extends from Northampton to the county line, varied a few rods near the end of the line, the Blue Ridge road is practically on the site of the old Trail. The markings around the L. C. Root house are still visible and in one case the ruts have been left so that future generations might know the site of the old road.

While there is sufficient evidence that at one time the road running north from Hallock by the Nurse place turned a quarter of a mile to the east and then went north over the high land, the later trail went north from the Root house. When we arrive at Boyd's Grove we have positive evidence of the site of the Trail. It passed through the northeastern part of the grove and went on to Milo, which is on the present road. From Milo it led north, turned one-half mile to the west, through Providence, and through Bulbona Grove where Bulbona had his tavern and returned to the site of the present road and the western limits of Wyanet. In more than one old book or document it is stated that the Trail passed six miles west of Princeton, which would be on

the line with the western limits of Wyanet. When Colonel Zachary Taylor and Jefferson Davis and Captain Smith left Bulbona's tavern they went to the cabin of Henry Thomas "six miles north," which was four miles north of the present site of Wyanet. As stated before, a marker points out the site of the old tavern and fort. Matson and others agree that the road ran north to Walnut Township and then diagonally to Red Oak Grove and to the northwest corner of Ohio Township and then into Lee County. We have not been able to find the exact site of the road through Walnut Township. Many have proved the Dad Joe trail from the road just mentioned, across the Inlet to the site of the Dad Joe memorial cabin and well. It was at Dad Joe's cabin that the state road which came up three miles east of Boyd's Grove joined with the trail which went on to Dixon near the site of Route 89. M. F. Dunn, who was born in the neighborhood of the Dad Joe cabin and knew the Trail, states that the old road to Dixon went on north from one-half mile to two and a half miles west of Route 89. Those who are acquainted with the country from Dad Joe's Grove to Dixon and the low spots which were avoided by the travelers of the early days, will understand the departure from a straight line north. Therefore, it would seem there is almost conclusive proof of the site of the old Trail of 1825, and the Peoria and Galena Mail Route of 1827 and afterward, from Peoria to Dixon.

From Northampton the state road ran north and east and north accommodating itself to the conditions of the Bureau valley. A mile and a half from Northampton it passed by the site of the J. B. Meredith tavern and two miles farther on it reached the county line. The present road is on the site of the old state road to a point beyond the Peoria County line. So far as can be dis-

PEORIA AND GALENA TRAIL

covered all trails in the early days followed the high ground and when the ruts became too deep the pioneers "shifted" the road a few rods. Therefore, it is quite difficult to establish any particular trail from the point two miles north of the Peoria County line to Whitefield Corners. Three miles north of the Peoria County line we may turn to the right two miles and take the road that leads north two miles and then west one-half mile and then north seven miles to Whitefield Corners. We may go two miles north of the Peoria County line and then east or we may go four miles north of the Peoria County line to Route 90 and then east to the same road. Whitefield Corners is in the southwest corner of Wheatland Township, Bureau County. There are several residences, a community building, a grange hall, a schoolhouse and the old Eight Mile House at this point. The old Eight Mile House was a tavern on a cross trail from Henry to the north and west. From Whitefield Corners we travel two and a half miles to the north and one mile to the east to the Lone Tree Schoolhouse. This schoolhouse now stands on Section 20, but the original Lone Tree Postoffice was on Section 16, one and a half miles away. From the Lone Tree Schoolhouse we go north three and a half miles and then west one-quarter of a mile and then north about three miles and reach a winding road that leads to Tiskilwa. Here we find the John Stevens house, and the Stevens house across the street which is sheltering the fifth generation, the site of the old Indian Council House and many other places of historical interest. Route 89 leaves Tiskilwa on Galena Avenue and extends two miles to the north and then two miles to the northeast and then northerly into Princeton and crosses Route 6 at the county court house. While the hard road leads on to Dixon the traveler who is interested in the Kellogg Trail and the Mail Route

will continue through Princeton on Galena Avenue and one and a half miles on Route 89; then turn to the northwest and cross the Red Covered Bridge and continue north as permitted by the present roads, to Dad Joe Grove. The Red Covered Bridge has been described by Mrs. Ina Shuggart Hoover of Princeton, in the July, 1934, number of the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. Persons in the Peoria Neighborhood who are not interested in the location of the old Trail will probably reach Galena by Route 78 and then travel practically north to Route 20. Others may take Route 88 to Sterling and Route 40 to Mt. Carroll and then continue on 78. Quite a number of tourists would go by the way of Prophetstown and Route 78 through Morrison and Mt. Carroll. Persons in the western part of the state would use Route 80 to Fulton, Savanna, and the Mississippi Palisades and reach Route 20 west of Elizabeth. However, the searcher or the historian will leave Dixon on Route 26 and travel to Polo. When Polo was a village the Buffalo Grove settlement was more than one-half mile away. From this point we travel on Route 27 northwest and west to Mt. Carroll and Route 78, and choose either 78 or 80 to reach Route 20 and Galena.

It is not difficult for the tourist or the searcher to obtain full information in regard to the hard roads, but it is only through diligent search that the old trails and the old taverns can be correctly located. The Trail and other points of interest on the northern part of the road have been located long ago but no one had definitely mapped the Kellogg Trail, or the old Peoria and Galena Coach Road. Because several persons who have distinct memory of the old Coach Road and Trail and the stage coaches and because of others who had heard the roads described by their parents who lived along the Trail, we are able to give the definite locations that we have given.

The old residents of Richwoods, Medina and Hallock townships in Peoria County most kindly answered all questions and furnished information desired. We have the signed statements of Alonzo M. Root, Mrs. George Stowell, Jotham Neal, William A. Gauwitz, Edward Schaffner, Elbert I. Nurse, Rupert Nurse, P. E. Phillips, Levi Ferguson, Robert Leslie Dickison and John C. Hough, which give ample evidence of the correctness of all the statements concerning the Road from the end of Adams Street to Boyd's Grove and beyond. It was only by the assistance of these persons that we could mark the exact route of the old Trail and Coach Road. Messrs. Stevens and Whiting of Tiskilwa, M. F. Dunn of Ohio, and many other persons have aided in finding the locations of the old Trail and the historical sites. We have been given a photograph of Henry Gratiot by his granddaughter, Florence Gratiot Bale; a photograph of B. F. Shaw, founder of the Dixon *Telegraph* and intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln, by his grandson, Robert E. Shaw; and a photograph of General Henderson by his nephew, J. E. Henderson. The superintendents of highways in the counties through which the trails passed have furnished us with copies of the maps prepared by the Highway Department. Blanchard's map and Mitchell's map of 1837, Matson's maps and descriptions of Bureau County, the maps of Colton, Morse and Gaston, the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, atlases of 1873 containing the maps of all these counties; histories of Peoria County by Drown, Ballance, McCulloch, Rice and Best, as well as the files of Drown's *Record*, and other old Peoria papers, have been carefully examined. Histories of Bureau, Stark and Jo Daviess counties have been of some assistance. We have gained some knowledge from many books and pamphlets and much information has come directly from men who had personal knowledge

of the sites of historic places described or discussed. It is possible that additional information might be obtained regarding the location of the road through eastern Marshall County as well as the road through Lee County. I hope that the descriptions I have given will bring a little joy to tourists and some information to students.

THE INDIGENOUS IRON INDUSTRY OF ILLINOIS

By

AUBREY STARKE

Although Illinois ranks high among states in the production of pig iron, little if any of the iron produced is extracted from iron mined in Illinois. The ore used originates in the Lake Superior region. "The State's own iron industry, based on ore produced within its own boundaries, is dead," wrote the author of a report on mineral resources for the State Geological Survey in 1918, "and so nearly forgotten that its one-time existence comes as a surprise to many."¹ But in the northwest section of Hardin County, an important relic of this early industry remains. It is the Illinois Furnace — described in no guide book and no history of Illinois, though its position is carefully marked on the topographical survey map of the United States Geological Survey,² and its operation is a well established local tradition. While the protection and restoration by the state of this old blast furnace can hardly be hoped for — much as it might be wished for — it seems desirable to make a collection of the few ascertainable facts of its operation, and of the industry of which it is the chief monument.

Mr. Willard Rouse Jillson, writing on "Early Mineral

¹*State Geological Survey: Bulletin 38* (Year Book for 1917 and 1918), p. 80.

²State of Illinois, Equality Quadrangle. Sec. 4, T. 12. S., R. 8. E.

Exploration in the Mississippi Valley (1540-1840),"³ has made the general statement:

In Wisconsin and Illinois the development [of iron manufacturing] was later [than in Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee or Missouri], but in each of these states the mining and smelting of the ore for domestic purposes occurred prior to the year 1840. . . . After the year 1800, the iron industry saw rapid development in the middle of the [Ohio] valley, and from 1825 to 1860 it was a most attractive business where good ores were available.

In the *Centenial History of Illinois* we read further:⁴

The iron and steel industry in Illinois dates from about the sixties. Although Pennsylvania has always been the leader in this industry, competing enterprises were able to develop in Illinois because they were nearer the growing western market and had a slight advantage with regard to the raw material. At first Hardin County gave promise of an abundant supply of iron ore, and companies were organized to exploit the mines, but these works were soon abandoned.

The existence of iron ore in Hardin County has been known since its earliest settlement. Along that interruption in the geological surface north of Elizabethtown, on the north side of Hogthief Creek, known as the Illinois Furnace Fault,⁵ there still exist in the clay produced by the weathering of the limestone exposed deposits of limonite ore. This ore is said to contain over fifty per cent metallic iron—the usual metallic content of the limonite ores most in demand. How early this ore was

³*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1924, p. 53.

⁴The Centennial History of Illinois, Volume Four: *The Industrial State 1870-1893*, by Ernest Ludlow Bogart and Charles Manfred Thompson; Springfield, 1920, p. 390. A note to the paragraph quoted gives references: "Department of Agriculture of Illinois, *Transactions*, 1871, p. 156; the furnace at Elizabethtown is said to have been established in 1839. Swank, *The American Iron Trade in 1876*, p. 146."

⁵This fault consists chiefly of St. Louis limestone. It is mineralized at a number of points. See *State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 41*, pp. 72-73 (1920).

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smelted for its iron content is not known, but about 1837⁶ a blast furnace known as the Illinois Furnace was built on Big Creek, just above the junction of Big Creek and Hogthief Creek, some ten miles north of Rosiclare. This was two years before the establishment of Hardin County, by separation of territory from Pope — which took place in the year the furnace is said to have been put in operation.⁷ The furnace was rebuilt and enlarged in 1856, and continued in operation until the beginning of the war, in 1861. Local tradition asserts that operations were started again after the close of the war, and continued for a few years (until 1874). Some nine years later operations were resumed once more, and lasted for about a year. Mrs. S. E. Rose, of the Rose Hotel, Elizabethtown, recalls going out to see the last fire drawn in 1883. By that time many local deposits of ore were exhausted, but it was not, presumably, scarcity of ore that caused the termination of iron smelting in Hardin County. The opening of the richer iron deposits in the Lake Superior region had made the smelting of local ore unprofitable.

Some two and a half miles east, and north, of the Illinois Furnace (by present roads), on Hogthief Creek,⁸ the Martha Furnace was built in 1848. It was operated until 1857. It was smaller than the Illinois Furnace, and never proved as profitable. Presumably, no attempt was ever made to bring it back into operation.

⁶Unless otherwise suggested, the facts concerning both the Illinois and the Martha furnaces recorded here are drawn from *The Geological Survey of Illinois: Volume I: Geology* (Chicago, 1866); Chapter XIII, "Geology of Hardin County," by A. H. Worthen and Henry Engelmann. (See especially p. 365.) It has seemed more practical to make use in this article of material from Worthen's sketch than to reprint the two paragraphs on the furnace *in toto*.

⁷1839 is the date given for the commencement of operations at the Illinois Furnace by Swank. See note 4, above; it is also the date given in the newspaper article, cited in note 12, below.

⁸Sec. 4, T. 12. S., R. 8. E.

The ore used by these furnaces was dug in nearby open pits, traces of which may yet be seen. (Some are said to have been ninety feet deep.⁹) Some unused lumps of ore may still be picked up about the Illinois Furnace. Although there are deposits of coal in Hardin County, they are thin, and limited, and not in the vicinity of the furnaces. Charcoal was, according to Worthen, "used exclusively" in the operation of the furnaces; but when the forests were exhausted coal was — according to local tradition — brought from Pittsburgh. It seems more likely that what coal was used was brought from the closer Kentucky fields.

Dense forests of oak and other hard woods originally covered the hills and valleys of Hardin County, and charcoal was produced at moderate expense. But two hundred bushels of charcoal were consumed in the production of a ton of pig iron — or about eighteen hundred bushels every day of operation of the Illinois Furnace. Ox-cart drivers, returning from their haul of pig iron to Elizabethtown, for shipment, are said to have brought back loads of Kentucky blue grass seed, which they scattered over the cut-over timber land. The blue grass adds greatly to the beauty of this section of the county today.

The Illinois Furnace was until a few years ago a fairly well preserved ruin. Vines and small trees covered much of it, and had dislodged some stones, but the outlines were clear and distinct, the sides well preserved. Mr. Clarence Bonnell described it thus:¹⁰

⁹"Much of the ore for the supply of the Martha furnace has come from the Jack Moore mine, on the northeast (?) quarter of section 34, township 11, range 8. . . . The ore has also been obtained at McCoy's diggings, on the northwest (?) quarter of the same section, where it is found between walls of limestone." *Geological Survey of Illinois*, 1866: I, 364.

¹⁰*Each in a Day: Being guides for making one day round-trip journeys from Harrisburg, Illinois, to places of Natural and Historic Interest.* (Harrisburg, 1933.) Fourteenth journey.

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The Illinois Furnace is at the abrupt end of a ridge a short distance north of where Goose creek and Hogthief creek join Big creek. It consists of a central tower of brick six or eight feet in diameter, and about forty feet high, surrounded and supported by a square tower of irregular limestone blocks. This outside part is about thirty feet wide at the base and tapers to a twenty-foot square at the top. On the three sides away from the hill there are arched recesses leading to the lower part of the brick tower. From these the melted metal could be allowed to flow out to be run into moulds to make pig iron.

But willful destruction in recent months has destroyed the surface of the south wall and exposed the brick chimney core. Only the north and east walls retain any true semblance of their original condition.

Worthen described the furnace thus:

It is 52 feet in height; the hearth and inner walls are built of the sandstones of the Chester group, and the outer walls of limestone. The blast entered the hearth on one side [the east], while the iron was drawn from the opposite side and the slag from a third, while the fourth [the north side, against the hill] was closed. The blast was furnished by two horizontal double-acting cylinders, driven by steam power, and could be applied either hot or cold. The flame at the top of the furnace was conducted under a steam boiler, and then round a heating apparatus for the blast, and escaped thence through a chimney. The ore was first burned on log heaps, to expel the water, and prepare it for the furnace. . . .

The foundations for the apparatus used to create the blast, rusted pieces of the boilers themselves, an abundance of slag, scattered over the ground, traces of an old roadway winding up the ridge back of the furnace, and the dilapidated building that once served as office for the company operating the furnace are other evidences of

industrial activity in what is now a quiet, thinly populated rural district. Sites of the homes of workmen employed at the furnace are said to be discernible in a corn field across the road from the furnace. But time has taken a ruinous toll since Worthen wrote seventy years ago.

The Martha Furnace was even then "in a dilapidated condition." It disappeared years ago, its stones probably going into house foundations and chimneys, but its site — distinguished by a pile of broken stones — is known. Recently members of Civilian Conservation Corps Camp No. 1631 (Camp Hicks), engaged in building a new road bed from Hogthief Creek to the Big Tower (erected in connection with the establishment of a national forest in the Ohio River counties of southern Illinois), uncovered an interesting relic of the Martha Furnace. It is a rectilinear stone, measuring about two by five feet, bearing in a simple cartouche, in stiff Victorian lettering, the legend M A R T H A B. F. — Martha Blast Furnace. It has been set in concrete, in a small enclosure, by the side of the road, a few yards north of the site of the furnace.

Worthen stated that the Illinois Furnace usually ran from six to nine months a year, "according to the facility with which the ore was obtained," and that the Martha Furnace usually ran about eight months a year. "The ore for these furnaces usually cost from one and three-quarters to two dollars per ton, at the furnace, and the charcoal four cents per bushel. . . . The metal produced was of excellent quality, and always commanded the highest market price."

Shipment of pig iron was almost exclusively from Elizabethtown, and a few pigs are said to have lain on the river bank, below the hotel, until recent years. The pigs were hauled by ox-cart from the furnaces, and

when — with an extra heavy load — a driver had difficulty in crossing a ford (there are even today few bridges in Hardin County) he discarded pigs to lighten his load. Some pigs still lie in the bed of Hogthief Creek, where the old Elizabethtown road crossed it.

Judge A. A. Miles, of Rosiclare, records in his history of Hardin County¹¹ the local tradition that "iron shot from these iron furnaces [as well as] lead bullets from the lead smelters [near Rosiclare] were used by our armies in the war with Mexico in 1847." (It is difficult to believe that some iron was not manufactured here for use in the Civil War.) The cannon balls would, of course, have been floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on flatboats. Judge Miles also states that "owing to the lack of cheap transportation, [the furnaces] were forced to suspend operations." It was a difficult haul from the furnaces to Elizabethtown in 1883, and at that time the railroad had not come to Rosiclare. The road to the Illinois Furnace from State Route 34 (4 miles from the Rosiclare Junction to the furnace) is today a road of the sort that repels motorists accustomed to paved highways, though both the Illinois Furnace and the site of the Martha may easily be reached by the new and better (though longer, and also unpaved) road the boys of Camp Hicks have built from Hicks (to the north, reached from Eichorn on Route 34) to a point east of Elizabethtown. Local residents are courteous and helpful in giving directions for finding these historic sites.

The Illinois Furnace stands on land owned today by the McKernan estate — land referred to in *Geological Survey Bulletin No. 41* as the McKernan farm. Who owned and operated the furnaces is not agreed upon by Hardin County residents, and records of ownership are

¹¹*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July, 1931, p. 366, n. 4.

almost non-existent. In a newspaper article on the history of Hardin County, published in 1876,¹² it is stated that the Illinois Furnace was put in operation in 1839 by Chalon Guard & Co., but was owned in 1876 by the Illinois Furnace Company, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Indiana. An appeal to the Corporation Division of the Department of State, of the State of Indiana, elicited the information that the Illinois Furnace Company, with its principal office located at Indianapolis, Indiana, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Indiana, April 6, 1872; but that this corporation "never filed any of its required annual corporation reports," though "records do not show of its ever having been dissolved or its certificate of incorporation revoked."¹³ What local legal records connected with the operation or ownership of both furnaces may once have existed would have been destroyed when the Hardin County court house at Elizabethtown was burned in 1884.

From the newspaper article referred to in the paragraph above comes the information that "The Martha Furnace was built in 1848, by Daniel McCook, who was at one time County Judge of the county. His family descendants are well known to history — three of his sons having served as Generals in the Union Army during the late war." Wolf and Shepherd are other names given locally as proprietors of the Illinois Furnace, perhaps each with some degree of correctness.

It is stated in a *History of Gallatin, Saline . . . and Williamson Counties* that the Saline Coal and Manufacturing Company (incorporated January 28, 1851), owned 14,000 acres of land, including "large areas of

¹²"Centennial Record: Historical sketch of Hardin county, State of Illinois, from the earliest settlement to the present time, July 4, A. D. 1876." (Elizabethtown, 1876. 6 leaves.) There is a copy in the Library of Congress, a photostatic copy of which is owned by the Illinois State Historical Library.

¹³Information supplied by Helen Grosh, Record Clerk, September 19, 1934.

coal in Gallatin County, and iron ore in Hardin County.”¹⁴ But this seems to have been a different venture lacking connection with the Illinois or Martha Furnace. For, though “It . . . was the original design of the projector of the company to develop both minerals and establish an iron manufactory on the property . . . nothing . . . has been done.” There are in Hardin County, for instance, in the vicinity of Sellers Landing, on the east, other deposits of iron, and of types of ore other than limonite. But only the limonite has been worked commercially, and only—so far as we now know—at the Illinois and Martha Furnaces. For a final statement of the historic significance of the early iron industry in Hardin County we may quote again from the *Geological Survey Bulletin*.¹⁵ “Though iron ore was sought in many places in the State, and as late as 1870, was seriously considered (as by Worthen, in 1866) as a possible resource still to be developed in the not distant future, it was only in Hardin County that an indigenous iron industry really existed.”¹⁶

¹⁴Chicago, 1887. Page 125.

¹⁵*Bulletin No. 38*, cited in note 1, above; page 81.

¹⁶For information or assistance essential to the preparation of this article, I have to thank, besides others whose names I have mentioned in the article, Mr. Paul M. Angle, Miss Bess S. Parish, Professor A. C. Noé, Professor J. Marvin Weller, and Mr. John J. Parish—who made the trip to the furnaces with me.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN JACKSONVILLE AND EARLY ILLINOIS

By

FRANK J. HEINL

Congregationalism came to Jacksonville in 1828, three years after the town was founded, when John Millot Ellis selected a site for the future Illinois College and became pastor of the local Presbyterian church. The college was opened with a Congregational faculty in 1830. Within the next few years, a bit of New England was set down in the town, which is located near the border between the old free states of the North and the old slave states of the South, and whose people were almost wholly Southern in extraction and sentiment.

The Congregational church, the second of its polity organized in Illinois, was gathered December 15, 1833.¹ Its constitution, adopted November 11, 1833, and still in force, says, "Candidates for admission to this church shall have liberty of conscience as to modes and subjects of Baptism, and no qualification shall be required as to condition of membership but credible evidence of Christian character." The church was closely associated with Illinois College, as is graphically shown by the fact that all of the present buildings on the college campus except

¹The Congregational Church of Jacksonville celebrated its centennial December 10 to 17, 1933. Its commemorations included addresses by Luther A. Weigle, Dean of the Divinity School, Yale University; Harold C. Jaquith, President of Illinois College; and others; sermons by Albert W. Palmer, President of the Chicago Theological Seminary; and Clarence W. McClelland, President of McMurray College; a play, "The Gathering of the Independent Church," a dinner at Illinois College, and a loan exhibit of historical relics.

the gymnasium and the president's house, bear Congregational names. The close association and activities of both church and college made the church for many years the most outstanding of its denomination in all America west of Ohio. The church occupied its first meeting house, the first Congregational edifice in the state, in 1835. This edifice, like the old New England meeting houses, became a center of community activities; in it Lyman and Henry Ward Beecher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bayard Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, Owen Lovejoy, and other notables of the period lectured, and musicales, lyceums, and day schools were held. In its belfry was hung the town's first church bell. The present edifice of the church, the longest in continuous use in Jacksonville, was built in 1859. To it was brought the old bell, later to be cracked in the town's jubilation over the fall of Richmond, and still later to give way to the town's first chimes.

The Congregational pilgrims in Jacksonville included Edward Beecher, son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward and Harriet, Julian Monson Sturtevant, Truman Marcellus Post, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, and Samuel Adams, the college's "Faculty of All Talents," and Elihu Wolcott, James G. Edwards, M. McL. Reed, and William Carter, and together they made their town a Congregational capital. Associated with them in building a commonwealth on the prairies of Illinois, were other men of Jacksonville, such as Stephen A. Douglas, John J. Hardin, Joseph Duncan, Samuel D. Lockwood, Murray McConnel, Barton W. Stone, Peter Akers, Newton Cloud, William Thomas, and, in later years, Richard Yates, David Prince, Paul Selby, Hiram K. Jones, Newton Bateman, and Samuel A. Willard. The Illini of Jacksonville were a notable group in Illinois history. The town was a center of activities for Peter Cartwright and John Mason Peck.

Abraham Lincoln and Edward D. Baker often visited it.

Congregationalism showed no signs of awakening to its mission in the Far West until after the coming to Illinois of the Yale Band. The Yale Band, known at the university as the Illinois Band, was a group of divinity students at Yale who agreed to go into the West and preach and teach, the first of the kind to undertake such labors in a designated place. Its original members were Theron Baldwin, Julian Monson Sturtevant, Asa Turner, John Flavel Brooks, Mason Grosvenor, William Kirby, and Elisha Jenney. Later members were Henry Herrick, Benoni Messinger, Romulus Barnes, Lemuel Foster, William Carter, Albert Hale, Flavel Bascom, and Jairus Wilcox. Lucian Farnham, sometimes named as a member, was never of the group but he came to Illinois and worked with it.

The plans of Ellis for a seminary of learning and those of the Yale Band were combined, and in 1829, Sturtevant came to Jacksonville to open Illinois College. Soon, all of the band, except one, were in Illinois preaching and teaching, and all but two of them were Congregationalists.

Congregationalists who came to Jacksonville during Ellis' ministry to the Presbyterian Church associated with that church. Ellis left the church in 1832. Most of the Congregationalists craved the church of their youth, so, when Ellis left, plans for a Congregational church were inaugurated but developed slowly. In 1833, the Illinois Presbytery sitting in Jacksonville tried Sturtevant, Beecher, and Kirby for heresy in the first heresy trial in Illinois. The three were acquitted but the trial hastened the gathering of the new church.

The church was founded by laymen over the protest of all the Congregational preachers in Illinois — there were many of them — except one. Its organization was an ecclesiastical revolt against the Congregationalists of

New England, who under the Plan of Union, had abandoned all America west of the Hudson River to other denominations on the theory that their polity could not survive in the hell-roaring West. The church was the first to be organized in the West alongside of a Presbyterian church; its founding was roundly condemned by both Congregationalists and Presbyterians; and for many years it was regarded as an outlaw body by New England Congregationalists. The church was not born out of differences with local Presbyterians. The issue involved concerned Congregationalism in all America. Congregational writers have generally overlooked the important part the Jacksonville church played in the abrogation of the Plan of Union and the nationalization of Congregationalism. Williston Walker and others refer to the organization of the first five Congregational churches in Illinois as the first movement towards nationalization. The Jacksonville church and it alone was the primary factor in the movement. The other four churches came into existence in strict accordance with the Plan of Union; the Jacksonville church in open revolt started the movement. Luther A. Weigle, Dean of the Divinity School of Yale University and American church historian, said recently, "Let me say, then, at once, that the organization and life of this church are of unmistakable significance in American history. This thing was not done in a corner. At four major points this church contributed definitely to the direction and development of our common life in the nineteenth century. These points are: (1) This church was a pioneer in the development of Congregationalism in what was then known as the West, and it was the first church to be organized in open rejection and defiance of the Plan of Union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. (2) It had an important share in the development of the anti-slavery movement in

Illinois, and that movement, because it brought forth Abraham Lincoln, became of determinative significance in American history. (3) This church, through Julian M. Sturtevant and Truman M. Post, had much to do with the movement which led to the organization of the National Council of Congregational Churches, with the consequent strengthening of the fellowship of the churches, west and east, that hold the free, democratic polity of Congregationalism. (4) This church, again through Julian M. Sturtevant, contributed to the development in American education of the ideal of a college avowedly Christian in purpose and outlook, yet not under denominational control." "Even President Sturtevant does not clearly state what appears, to the historian today, to be the unique distinction of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville. . . . So far as I know, this was the first Congregational church in the United States to be organized upon the basis of a definite, conscious rejection of the Plan of Union and in contravention of its principles. That, be it for praise or blame, is your distinctive, imperishable place in the annals of the churches of America." "The organization of the church was a laymen's movement. It was an act of revolt on the part of Congregational laymen settled in the West, who refused any longer to accept the judgment of Congregational ministers in the East as to what the West needed. I am convinced that Elihu Wolcott and Dr. Reed and their associates knew what they were doing and why they were doing it."

Jacksonville Congregationalists started out to wreck the Plan of Union and nationalize their denomination. The first thing they did was to organize an association made up of churches at and near Jacksonville and Quincy, the second Congregational association organized west of the Hudson River. That association carried on until the

organization of the State Association in 1844, which was promoted primarily by Jacksonville Congregationalists and of which William Carter, the first minister of the Jacksonville church, was moderator and Sturtevant, still officially a Presbyterian, an honorary member. Congregational writers have completely ignored the organization of that first association.

The first impulse emanating from an official source looking towards a greater unity of Congregational churches, east and west, came from the Michigan Association which called a convention to be held in 1846. William Kirby, representing the Jacksonville church and the newly-formed Illinois State Association, helped promote the convention and in it he and one other represented the Jacksonville church.

The impulse which went out from the convention of 1846 brought about the Albany Convention of 1852, the first general meeting of Congregational churches of America since the Cambridge Synod of 1648. The Jacksonville church was represented at Albany by Sturtevant and several others. That convention abrogated the Plan of Union and steps were taken to unite the denomination but no provision was made for future national gatherings.

Two sectional Congregational associations were organized in 1853, the American Congregational Union in New York City and the Convention of Congregational Churches of the Northwest at Chicago. The latter, of which Sturtevant and Post, the second minister of the Jacksonville church, were active promoters, founded the Chicago Theological Seminary. The American Congregational Union gave Post in 1854, and Sturtevant in 1855, opportunities to address it and promote the nationalization of the denomination. Both visited New England and presented the demands of the Western churches and both were contributing to Eastern denominational

publications.

At a meeting of the Convention of Congregational Churches of the Northwest held in April, 1864, Post offered and secured the adoption of resolutions reciting that conditions required the calling of a national convention of Congregational churches. A month later, the Illinois Association adopted a report made by Sturtevant, approving Post's resolutions and sent letters to other associations asking coöperation. Ten other state associations promptly responded and named delegates to a convention to be held in New York City in November, 1864. In that convention Sturtevant took leadership and was a member of all its committees. A national council was called and Sturtevant was named to preach its sermon, with Post as his alternate.

The first National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States met in the Old South Meeting House in Boston on June 14, 1865, with 502 delegates from twenty-four states and sixteen representatives from foreign lands present. In it the Jacksonville church, the Yale Band, former members of the Jacksonville church, and former students at Illinois College, were well represented by men who took active and prominent parts in its deliberations and served on important committees. Thus came the nationalization of Congregationalism. The Jacksonville church, Sturtevant, and Post had won their thirty-year battle and had justified the organization of the Jacksonville church.

The church always has been a missionary church. Four of its founders and sixteen others who united with it in its first two years became preachers. Thirty-eight of its members up to 1859 went into the ministry. In 1846 men from the church began entering mission fields. They went to India, Persia, Syria, Micronesia, Africa, and to American Indian tribes. Others organized churches in

Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Utah. Many men, associated with it while in college though not members, became preachers and teachers. Today the church has several representatives in Asia and Africa. Its missionary influence has extended to the ends of the earth.

Its pastors have been William Carter, Truman M. Post, Nathaniel P. Coltrin, Edwin Johnson, Charles H. Marshall, James G. Roberts, William H. Savage, Eli Corwin, Henry E. Butler, Frederick S. Hayden, Roswell O. Post, W. Ernest Collins, George E. Stickney, and Wayne L. Waters. Its present minister is William Arthur Richards.

Abolitionism took on a national aspect with the establishment of Garrison's *Liberator* in Boston in 1831. With its appearance, anti-slavery agitation took on a new and militant form and moved from the moral and religious columns of the newspapers to the front pages. In 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized in Boston. The founding of a college and church in Jacksonville by anti-slavery Congregationalists so nearly coincident with these promotions in Boston was sufficient to arouse the pro-slavery element both in and away from the town. Both church and college were labelled abolition engines. From the inception in Boston of the militant anti-slavery crusade, every step taken there against slavery echoed in Jacksonville. The Jacksonville anti-slavery men were not radical Garrisonians, although Beecher, the first of his illustrious family to make a stand against slavery, for a short time was almost as radical as he. In a community filled with intense hatred of those suspected of favoring emancipation the storm beat against the anti-slavery men just in accordance with their conspicuousness. At the time, Jacksonville was the largest and in many respects the most important town in the state. In 1834, it appeared to Henry Asbury as "the brightest and largest town in Illinois;" Frank E. Stevens wrote, "Jacksonville

was the most important city in the State at the time (1834). It was the pole star among Illinois cities. Everything with political ambition behind it pointed to Jacksonville;" Jonathan Baldwin Turner wrote, "You cannot find a village east of the Hudson of the same number of inhabitants possessing so many men of literary eminence and moral worth;" Truman M. Post wrote, "In Jacksonville there was a collision between two antagonistic civilizations, one born directly or indirectly of slavery and the other of freedom. . . Antagonistic principles had slept side by side in unconscious or timid procrastination of the inevitable. These principles were now in direct encounter in the same field. . . each conscious of the other as a mortal foe;" Josephine Craven Chandler wrote, "It was not only the largest town in the State, but it was the intellectual and cultural center. . . He . . . had left behind him the big political drama that had, in fact, been preparing since the founders of Illinois College had sowed there in Jacksonville the seeds of that rank flower — Abolition. . . The anti-slavery sentiment which their humanitarianism fostered with fanatical zeal was the most powerful influence in the many-factored influence that was to bring about the birth of the Republican party;" and Charles C. Ware wrote, "There came in the inflow some celebrated figures. Beecher was the first and Sturtevant the second president of Illinois College, a local Congregational institution. Peter Cartwright had located twenty miles from Jacksonville, while Abraham Lincoln was but thirty-five miles from Jacksonville. Stephen A. Douglas began his residence in Jacksonville in 1834. Brilliant Kentuckians had come. Such were Herndon, Duncan, Hardin, and Yates. A southern atmosphere prevailed. The epic of emancipation was to have its most rhetorical enfoldment in that arena." Albert J. Beveridge referred to the college as "the foremost edu-

cational institution of the State." Sturtevant wrote of the church, "From its very organization it was known as the 'Abolition Church.' It has always stood forth in bold relief as the representative of freedom, intellectual, personal, and ecclesiastical." Clark E. Carr wrote, "To be an Abolitionist meant political ostracism and in many localities those so branded were social outcasts. I became satisfied that the man who had done more than any other to arouse and inflame this prejudice was Stephen A. Douglas." Douglas hurled his thunder against the anti-slavery Congregationalists of Jacksonville.

Abolitionism came to the front in Jacksonville just about the time the Congregational Church was gathering. Douglas came in November, 1833. About the same time, the Underground Railroad began to assume local importance. The Congregational group in Jacksonville was the first of its size and ability in Illinois to fearlessly take a stand against slavery. Its influence and strength were augmented by members of the Yale Band and other missionaries who were laboring in Illinois and made Jacksonville their capitol, and by college students who were spreading roundabout preaching and teaching. Deacon Elihu Wolcott, the mainspring in the organization of the Congregational Church was conductor-in-chief on the Underground Railroad and deacons M. McL. Reed and Ebenezer Carter were his chief lieutenants. While the anti-slavery leadership remained in the Congregationalists, they were joined by some men from other churches.

When the ambitious Douglas raised his political lightning rod he promptly turned the unpopularity of the Congregationalists among the Kentuckians to his great political advantage. It was easy. A copy of the radical Garrison's *Liberator* thrown at his hearers inflamed them against abolitionists. Three of the most influential preachers in Illinois, Peck, Cartwright, and Stone hated

abolitionists as much as they did slavery, and so did Governor Duncan. The Congregationalists promptly accepted Douglas' challenge and their duel continued until Douglas was defeated by Lincoln for the Presidency.

With the opening of the year 1837, the entire country was in a ferment over the slavery question. With the situation in Illinois such that a spark might set the prairies afire, came the explosion in the murder of Elijah Parish Lovejoy, son of a Congregational preacher, at Alton. After two of Lovejoy's presses had been destroyed by mobs, he came to Jacksonville to confer with Beecher and other friends and to attend the college commencement. The anti-slavery men who conferred with him decided that he must re-establish his paper at Alton and they, also, issued a call for the organization of a state anti-slavery society. The Illinois Anti-Slavery Society was organized at Alton on October 26, 1837, with Beecher, Wolcott, William Carter, Kirby, Turner, Jenney, and A. B. Whitlock present from Jacksonville. Sturtevant stayed with his boys. Wolcott was elected president of the new society and he, Beecher, and Carter signed its address to the public. Beecher preached in the face of some violence. A new press arrived. On the evening of November 7, a mob attacked it and Lovejoy was killed. Beecher had left Alton but a few hours before the murder. Lovejoy became the first martyr in America to the principles of the freedom of speech and press. The shadow of the Puritan had fallen across the page of Illinois history, never to recede.

Political leaders in Illinois either kept still or condemned Lovejoy. Lincoln and Douglas were silent. Jacksonville was not silent. Anti-slavery leaders and friends of a free press were aroused to a white heat. A protest meeting was called and held on the college campus. After faculty and citizens had addressed a noisy

and rather unfriendly audience, students called a fellow-student, William H. Herndon, to the stand. He made an effective appeal. An irate, pro-slavery father promptly withdrew him from college rather than have him become "a damned abolition pup." The son refused to recant and went to rooming with Lincoln above Speed's store in Springfield. This campus protest meeting was the only one of its kind in downstate Illinois. Such a meeting in Faneuil Hall is famous.

Their prominent part in the new anti-slavery society, their close association with Lovejoy, and the campus protest meeting brought the Jacksonville Congregationalists and the anti-slavery movement much publicity, and publicity is exactly what the anti-slavery men deemed necessary for the success of their cause. They were assailed by the governor, a future governor, and others in high places, the type of men who never realized the anti-slavery strength until in 1856, a candidate and platform satisfactory to anti-slavery men woke them up.

Events adjusted themselves nicely to bring publicity. Hardly had the excitement over the Lovejoy tragedy cooled, when a sister of General Hardin located in Jacksonville and brought with her two family slaves. When told they were free, the slaves eloped from their mistress. One was kidnapped and sent down the river, the other found refuge in the home of Wolcott. Suit was started to secure her freedom, the Congregationalists took her into membership, helped finance her litigation, and, after long delay, she won her freedom. General Hardin was the acknowledged Whig leader in Illinois and was prospecting for Congress. The public took notice of this case and twitted Hardin about his Congregational friends stealing his family slaves.

And, then, Wolcott and his deacons put the Underground Railroad into full operation. Sixteen run-aways

were in Deacon Carter's barn one dark night with kidnappers close on their heels. A number of slavery escapades occurred, some of which got into the courts. No one will ever know how many fugitives moved through Jacksonville, for railroading was dangerous work and conducted as secretly as possible. The pro-slavery people in the community, except a few who hoped to win rewards for recoveries, closed their eyes to railroad operations. The mystery which clothed the railroad was the subject of much discussion, just as has been the mystery of many of the recent cross-country chases of criminals. The influence of the Underground Railroad on public opinion has rarely been given just appreciation.

In the early eighteen-forties, a Southern woman brought a slave maid with her on a visit in Jacksonville. The slave was spirited away by some of the abolitionists and college boys, but was recovered. Great excitement prevailed. A pro-slavery mass-meeting was held which resolved to break up "nigger stealing" just as it had horse stealing, to protect widows from the South when they came to town, and demanded that Illinois College discipline its stealing students. The college promptly invited the boys to continue in college. Julius A. Willard, a Congregationalist, temporarily Presbyterianized, was indicted, tried, found guilty, and fined twenty-five dollars by Judge Lockwood for harboring a slave. At Quincy, about the same time, Judge Douglas—who had been states attorney, legislator, register of the land office, and secretary of state since he landed in Jacksonville—fined a Congregational deacon, Richard Eells, four hundred dollars for the same offense. He paid his compliments to anti-slavery. Both cases went to the Supreme Court and were affirmed, and of course, brought more publicity. The public noted the severe penalty of the novice judge as compared with that of the seasoned one. About the

same time, Owen Lovejoy, Congregational minister at Princeton and brother of Elijah P., was acquitted in a trial for the same offense.

In 1843, Hardin and Douglas were elected to Congress. About the first thing to come up was John Quincy Adams's perennial motion to rescind the "Gag Rule" which had been adopted some years earlier to prevent slavery discussion. When Hardin voted for Adams's motion, his was the first vote from Illinois ever cast in Congress against the slave power. Douglas voted against Adams and thereby made his first congressional record on slavery. Ere long, the question of the annexation of Texas came up. Hardin, after warning the slave power against the dangers that lay in annexation, voted no. Douglas voted yes. Hardin was truly representing the anti-slavery element in his district.

Almost the first thing the newly organized Congregational Association of Illinois did was to declare that it believed slave-holding to be a sin and the anti-slavery movement to be the cause of God. Two years later, in 1846, it declared secret societies to be works of darkness unworthy of the support of Christians, and warned churchmen to avoid them. Why? When Freemasonry came to Jacksonville, it was by authority of a lodge in pro-slavery St. Louis and its first members were largely pro-slavery men. Many of them were later involved on the pro-slavery side in local controversies, some of them near-riots. When the Grand Lodge of Masons was organized in Jacksonville in 1840, the town became for several years the Masonic capital of Illinois. In the early eighteen-forties, the Jacksonville lodge inaugurated the movement which prohibited any but white men from entering a Masonic lodge in Illinois, either as members or visitors. In the slavery controversies in Jacksonville there was a line-up between the Congregationalists and

Freemasons. From what the anti-slavery men could see, Freemasonry in Illinois was a hand-maiden of slavery. John Quincy Adams was the idol of the anti-slavery men and he had condemned Freemasonry. Naturally, the Jacksonville Congregationalists in the State Association opposed secret societies and with the help of a minister who fired blank cartridges for many years against such societies the resolutions were passed.

The pioneer Congregationalists in Jacksonville never became Masons but their sons and grandsons did. Nothing on the church records indicates any action concerning Freemasonry. Many members of the church and several of its ministers have been and are Freemasons.

The Liberty party appeared for the first time in Illinois in 1844 and took over the work of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society. Wolcott was its candidate for Congress twice. He made sacrifice hits to publicise the movement. None of the pioneer Congregationalists sought political preferment. The Free Soil party came to the front in 1848 and quite generally absorbed the old Liberty men. By that time, anti-slavery had taken such a hold in Illinois that the Whigs ran their candidates on free-soil platforms.

The Congress passed the Compromise of 1850 to settle the slavery question for all time. It contained a fugitive slave law which was most obnoxious to anti-slavery men and of which William Carter wrote, "This fugitive slave bill, so far as I know, is the first ever passed by Congress, commanding all good citizens to do what Divine Law forbids." Douglas had been most active in securing the passage of the Compromise. When the North realized that an odious fugitive slave law had been forced upon it, eruptions came.

The presidential election of 1852 ended the Whig party and pushed to the front the anti-slavery movement, but Lincoln and many old-line Whigs still clung to the Whig

carcass. In 1850 and 1852, Richard Yates, the first graduate of the "Faculty of All Talents," who had studied law under Hardin and served several terms in the legislature, was elected to Congress. In the legislature he had taken strong anti-slavery grounds. He had boldly taken a stand against slavery when other Whigs were dodging the issue. When Hardin lost his life at Buena Vista, Yates took up the banner of the fallen hero and became the one outstanding leader of the anti-slavery Whigs of Illinois. Both Hardin and Yates broke ground for Lincoln.

In 1852 came "Uncle Tom's Cabin," written by a sister of President Beecher. The literary sensation of the world, it was an event rather than a book. It appeared at the moment of fate. The domination of slavery north of the Mason and Dixon line had passed forever. About the same time, Paul Selby, another of the Faculty of All Talents' "damned abolition pups" who had married a Congregationalist, took over the management of the *Morgan Journal* (Jacksonville) and made it an anti-slavery paper, and later, the first Republican paper in Illinois. In 1853, there was organized in Jacksonville, a society with Wolcott as chairman and Turner as a member, some of whose members in later years claimed that it was the first organization in the country to avow the anti-slavery principles later espoused by the Republican party. This society bought and distributed 500 copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In the same year, Sturtevant, Turner, Prince, and others attempted to organize a Free Democracy in Jacksonville. The active participation in the movement of men whose names were household words in the state attracted wide attention. Turner was the busiest lecturer in the state. Early in 1854, Congress, under the championship of Douglas, passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He bowed to the will of the slave power

and went home to the repose of victory but, even then, could be heard the gathering thunders soon to crash about him. Yates fought the bill with all his might.

The Albany Convention of Congregational Churches of 1852, in which were delegates from seventeen states, represented a sectional church as Congregationalism had little foothold in slave territory. It was strongly anti-slavery everywhere. When other denominations split over the issue, it remained intact. The convention, like its constituent churches, took a bold stand against slavery and demanded the speedy abolition of the stupendous wrong. It was truly representative of the sectional party soon to arise. Soon after the convention, popular movements were inaugurated in the Congregational areas of the country, from which had come the anti-slavery vote in recent elections for the organization of a new party which brought about the meeting at Ripon, Wisconsin; Jackson, Michigan, and other places. Some political leaders such as Seward, Wilmot, Giddings, Chase, Grimes, Colfax, Sumner, Hoar, Yates, and Lovejoy, were at the same time laying plans for a new party and they became the front of the emerging organization. Few Congregationalists in Illinois were politicians and the leadership in Illinois went largely to the Kentuckians, Lincoln, Yates, Browning, Palmer, and Oglesby.

Early in 1854, a new party began to gather in Illinois around the nucleus of abolitionists, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Liberty and Free Soil men. The meeting in the Congregational church at Ripon, Wisconsin, called for a new party to be known as Republican. In Illinois, the movement was slow. The two Congregational preachers, Lovejoy and Coddington, about the only leaders who were footloose politically, undertook the unhorsing of Douglas. Yates announced his candidacy for re-election. Lincoln emerged from his political retirement to aid Yates, and

with this move his years of greatness commenced. In October, thousands gathered at Springfield to hear Lincoln and Douglas. Lovejoy and Coddington had called a meeting to organize the Republican party for the same time and place. The meeting, which was really the first Republican state convention held in Illinois, was attended by Paul Selby and Hiram K. Jones, Congregationalists, of Jacksonville; and John B. Fairbank, another local Congregationalist, was named on the state central committee. Lovejoy and Coddington dominated the meeting with Herndon, Lincoln's partner, fraternizing with them. Lincoln left town on the wheels of political expediency. Yates went down to defeat in the election with his colors flying. His last speech in Congress was against slavery and reminds one of Hardin's made ten years earlier against the annexation of Texas.

Late in 1855, it was plain that the new party was soon to be organized in Illinois. Lincoln was ready and the junior partner wanted whatever was done to redound to his senior's advantage. A convention must be called. Herndon could not use his local newspaper. At Jacksonville, Selby had already made his paper Republican. If Selby would call an editorial convention, all would be well. Selby could turn the trick. He did. Many other papers promptly endorsed the plan. Team work was excellent. The editorial convention met in February at Decatur. Selby presided. None was permitted to attend but editors and Lincoln. Lincoln made his speech and inspired the resolutions. Selby could not attend as he was laid up from injuries received in a cowardly attack. In that convention, Lovejoy served on the resolutions committee, Lincoln made his "Lost Speech," and came out of it the leader of the new party in Illinois. One result of the meeting was the Bloomington Convention of May 29, 1856, in which Jacksonville was represented by the largest

downstate delegation. The new party won in the election, and Lovejoy went to Congress. In 1858, came the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates and in 1860, Lincoln's election to the Presidency, Yates' election as Governor, and Douglas' defeat.

The college Faculty of All Talents sowed the seeds of abolition. Beecher broke the ice in a public way. Sturtevant with his manifold duties and financial problems was cautious and not so outspoken; Post, very close to Sturtevant, spoke out more freely; neither shirked. Turner was the most daring, determined, and outspoken member of the faculty. He was ever ready, though threatened with death, to defy the pro-slavery element to do its worst. In spite of threats of destruction of the college property and their individual homes, the whole faculty carried on. Turner saw that if the prairies of Illinois were to become small farms instead of large plantations, a cheap fence must be provided. He introduced the osage orange hedge. "Turner's Folly," it was called, but it fenced Illinois into small farms close enough together to support rural schools and prevented large plantations with their possible demand for slave labor. Wolcott and his fellow deacons, Ebenezer Carter and M. McL. Reed, carried on anti-slavery promotions in which Sturtevant could not engage. Sturtevant, Turner, and others of the college faculty took the stump in 1856 and later. One of the college's "damned abolition pups," Herndon, was Lincoln's partner; another, Yates, had been Hardin's partner; another, Selby, was a foremost editor; and another, Newton Bateman, was Lincoln's literary friend, "Little Newt, the big schoolmaster."

Lincoln came in touch with the Jacksonville Congregationalists early in his career. Some of his first friends at New Salem were students at Jacksonville. When he entered the legislature, he found Jacksonville Congre-

gationalists seeking charters for their college and an academy and did them a good turn. Anne Rutledge, at the time of her death, was planning to attend school at Jacksonville, where her brother, David, was in college. Herndon certainly took to Lincoln some of the culture and political principles he got from his Congregational professors. Sturtevant wrote, "Long before he was thought of as a candidate for the Presidency, I knew him intimately. He stood in the foremost rank among the most truth-loving men I have ever known. His constant aim was to express truth in its own simple naked impressiveness." Lincoln and the Congregationalists started in Illinois about the same time. Lincoln in his earliest campaigns advocated several of the reforms promoted by the Congregationalists. On the slavery question, they were agreed in principle, but Lincoln could not approve assisting runaway slaves and considered the Congregationalists too "spontaneous" and impatient. Sturtevant urged him to stand for office at least once. Perhaps, out of his wide experience with young men he recognized earlier than others, Lincoln's greatness and especially the germs of his literary ability. He was proud of his association with Lincoln and of the part he and his college and church took in the great moral upheaval that preceded Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

While schools and churches were among the first desires of Illinois pioneers, public education in Illinois, as elsewhere in the West, developed slowly. During the first fifty years of statehood the real centers of enlightenment were those communities in which colleges were located. The Yale Band and its associates attempted to put in motion all the Christianizing agencies of society. The Faculty of All Talents was often in the saddle journeying long distances to promote public education. These men of transcendent gifts and enthusiastic consecration con-

tributed largely to develop and mould public sentiment until it crystallized into the legislation which established the state's whole system of public education. Early in the eighteen-thirties there developed in Jacksonville what became known abroad in the state as the "Jacksonville Crowd." It included men of all parties, anti-slavery men and pro-slavery sympathizers. Its leaders were the men from Massachusetts and Connecticut, the first American commonwealths to establish free schools, the same men who manned Illinois College and the Congregational church, and they had the hearty and active support of Duncan, Hardin, Lockwood, Thomas, Yates, and others in high places in the state government. Victory for common schools came in 1855, and soon afterward Newton Bateman was selected to put the public school system into operation. His chief aid was Samuel A. Willard, another of the college's "damned abolition pups." This same crowd led in promoting the social services and brought the schools for the deaf and blind and the state's first hospital for the insane to their town. Turner devoted most of his spare time to the cause of popular education. During the years, he traveled over the state lecturing, preaching, and organizing for public education and always striking at slavery. He soon loomed up as the most prominent figure in the Illinois educational program. He advocated a state agricultural and industrial university in connection with public schools. His plea for a federal-aid university received favorable consideration from the public. Its opponents referred to it as fascinating, but "wild-cat," impracticable and useless. The Morrill Act of 1862, provided federal aid for state universities as advocated by Turner. The origin of the measure which was to determine the nature of the University of Illinois and a large number of other higher educational institutions of our country was in Turner's idea of the early eighteen-fifties.

The origin in Illinois of the party which elected Lincoln to the Presidency on a platform opposing the extension of slavery traces back through the Free-Soil and Liberty parties and the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society in a large measure to the Congregationalists of Jacksonville, who planted abolition seed in the early eighteenth-thirties. The origin of the public education system of the state likewise traces back in a large measure to the same men. The nationalization of Congregationalism traces directly back to them.

The bit of New England which those Congregationalist Pilgrims brought to Jacksonville gave the town a Puritan cast which it retains to this day. They stamped their ideals on the community and their descendants adopted them. The church has endeavored to live up to its rich heritage. It has ever been evangelical, liberal, reverent, free and progressive. Those Congregational pioneers, moreover, were not mere mouth patriots. When the Civil War came on their college sent 240 men into the Union armies; seven came out brigadier generals, twelve colonels, two lieutenant colonels, eight majors, and nineteen captains. Bowdoin sent 276 men into those armies; Williams, 308; Amherst, 273; and Princeton, 150. And, too, a number of Illinois College men served under the Confederate flag. The college church and its town, too, sent many of their sons into the armies of the North.

The Congregationalists of Jacksonville pioneered in the promotion of missions, evangelism, education, the freedom of man, speech, pulpit, and press, the social services and many movements for religious progress and moral reform. Their town's special glory is the service rendered the state by its citizens. It has always pioneered for social advancement and civic betterment. Its colleges, charities, and social and cultural spirit have marked it and overshadowed the business of a Main Street.

HISTORICAL NOTES

An unusual program marked the annual Illinois Day meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, held in Springfield on the evening of December 3, 1934. The speaker of the occasion was Lane K. Newberry of Downer's Grove, an artist who has devoted himself to painting historic places in Illinois. Mr. Newberry spoke on the subject, "20,000 Miles in Illinois Painting Historic Spots," and illustrated his address with a number of his canvases. Many more canvases were on exhibition in the Illinois State Historical Library, and were viewed by the audience after the speaker had concluded.

Mr. Newberry is a descendant of Mormons who lived at Nauvoo when that was the Mormon capital. At first he set out only to record some of the old buildings which are still standing there, but his interest broadened, and he soon set himself the task of recording a larger portion of the state's history. At the present time he has completed nearly a hundred paintings.

Although Mr. Newberry has exhibited several times in Chicago during the last two years, the Illinois Day meeting was the first time his work has been shown downstate. It was also the first time a number of the paintings have been displayed anywhere. More than 300 people attended the meeting, and many more visited the library to view a number of paintings which were held over for two weeks. It is hoped that it will be possible to reproduce at least some of Mr. Newberry's work in the next number of the Journal.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at the public library in Granite City on December 1, 1934. The Granite City Junior Historical Society presented a paper; Mrs. John E. Miller of East St. Louis, spoke on the subject, "Books in a Changing World;" and the Society's President, W. D. Armstrong of Alton, spoke on "New Salem Rebuilt." It was announced that the historical room in the court house at Edwardsville had been refinished and was open to visitors. The next meeting of the Society will be an Old Settlers' Reunion and Homecoming, and will be held in Haskell Park, Alton, at a date to be announced later.

The Historical Association of St. Clair County met in the county museum in the court house at Belleville on October 6, 1934. The feature of the meeting was an address by C. P. Boyer of East St. Louis on the subject, "Early French Settlements."

The Moultrie County Historical Society was organized at Sullivan on September 26, 1934. Glenn H. Kilby was elected provisional president, and appointed committees to perfect a permanent organization. Paul M. Angle, secretary of the State Historical Society, attended the organization meeting.

The Peoria Historical Society is making plans to celebrate the centennial of Peoria's incorporation as a town. Although the American settlement of Peoria commenced in 1819, and Peoria County was organized in 1825, the village had no town government until it was incorporated in 1835. While the Historical Society has initiated the movement for a centennial celebration, it has asked the cooperation of other civic and patriotic organizations, and

hopes that the observance will enlist the efforts of the entire community.

In November, 1934, the Chicago Historical Society commenced the publication of a *Bulletin*, which is to be issued regularly under the editorship of Douglas C. McMurtrie. "It will be the aim of this *Bulletin*," the editor states, "to publish for the use of historians, students, bibliographers, and others of like interests record of and information regarding the extensive collections of the Society, in both the Library and the Museum. The endeavor will be made to include in each issue transcripts of some of the manuscripts of Illinois or western interest in the Society's collection, bibliographical notes on the printed material in the library or some aspect of Chicago or western history, an account of some feature of the Museum of special interest, together with notes on recent accessions, and on varied matters of interest."

The first number is an attractively printed publication of thirty-two pages. In it are published three letters from Governor Edward Coles of Illinois, to President Madison and his wife, together with the first installments of a list of Chicago imprints, 1835-1850, by Douglas C. McMurtrie, and a reprint of the first ordinances of the village and town of Chicago, 1833.

The Department of Public Works and Buildings of the State of Illinois, which has custody of many historic places, is conducting research and drawing plans for the restoration of the old capitol at Vandalia. Built originally in 1836, in a futile effort to prevent the removal of the state government to Springfield, the building was occupied as a capitol until the summer of 1839. Joseph Duncan and Thomas Carlin served parts of their terms

as Governors in this structure, and Abraham Lincoln was a member of the legislature which met here.

Until recently, the old state house was used by Fayette County as a court house and county building. Since its original construction it has been remodeled twice, in 1859 and 1902, and numerous minor changes have been made. Through patient investigation, architects have been able to draw plans of the capitol as it was originally built, and it is to this condition that it is to be restored.

If sufficient furniture is found to be available, the old state house will be refurnished as it was when it was the center of the state's life. Aiding in the collection of furniture, and also in the solution of other problems of restoration, is a Vandalia advisory committee composed of Charles A. Evans, Mrs. B. W. Perkins, Mrs. May D. Stone, Mrs. C. R. Schulte and Joseph C. Burtschi. Offers of authentic furniture have already been made to this committee.

The Department is also making plans for the restoration of Jubilee College, fourteen miles northwest of Peoria. This once-important institution of higher learning was opened in 1836, by Philander Chase, first Episcopal Bishop of Illinois, and functioned until after the Civil War. Recently, after years of abandonment, it came into the possession of Dr. George A. Zeller of Peoria, who donated it to the State of Illinois. Thus it became the newest state park.

For several months CCC workers have been cleaning the old campus and doing as much reconditioning as was possible without funds for materials and supplies. The Department now plans to secure an appropriation for restoring the main building and chapel, and the necessary research has been begun. Moreover, it is hoped that much of the furniture which was once used can be

located and returned to the college, so that visitors may carry away an accurate picture as it was in the days when it was providing educational facilities for the youth of Illinois.

Another restoration project will be undertaken near Grafton if the Jersey County Historical Society succeeds in securing its approval as an emergency relief or CCC activity. Near Grafton, during the War of 1812, stood a block house which served as a base of operations for the troops who were defending the settlements in the Illinois Territory. It is this structure which the county society hopes to restore. The location is known, the foundation is still partly intact, though covered with debris, and some of the logs are preserved in other buildings in the vicinity. Added interest would attend the restoration from the fact that it was in this neighborhood that Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette first landed on Illinois soil in the year 1673.

Students of population changes and land settlement will welcome the *Bibliography on Land Settlement with Particular Reference to Small Holdings and Subsistence Homesteads*, by Louise O. Bercaw, A. M. Hannay and Esther M. Colvin, which has just been published by the United States Department of Agriculture. Here one finds references to part-time farming experiments, subsistence homesteads, railroad colonization, large scale farming and municipal gardens. Although settlement activities throughout the world are considered, the United States receives chief attention, and Illinois is not neglected. Readers will be gratified to learn that this state has not been backward in experimenting with land use adjustments to aid in relieving and removing economic distress.

The Lincoln Group of Chicago and the Chicago Historical Society are co-operating in an unusual Lincoln's Birthday observance — the production, at the Society, of "Our American Cousin." This play, it is said, has never been publicly presented in this country since April 14, 1865, when Lincoln was assassinated during its performance. Every effort is being made to produce the play in the spirit which made it one of the most popular plays of its time.

On November 14, 1934, the new Lincoln collection of the University of Chicago, housed in the Harper Library, was opened to the public. The collection was made up in the main from purchases from the collections of William E. Barton, O. H. Oldroyd and Alexander Hannah. Many portraits and engravings of Lincoln are included, but the most important — and probably the most important item in the collection — is the portrait which George Frederick Wright painted from life in the summer of 1860. Lincoln himself selected this as the best likeness, purchased it and presented it to his friend William Butler, who was then treasurer of Illinois.

James O'Donnell Bennett, in the *Chicago Tribune*, wrote of the University's collection in these words: "Those rich sources make it one of the five great Lincoln Collections in this country. The other four are the collections of the Library of Congress, of Brown University, of the Huntington Library in California, and of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company in Fort Wayne, Indiana."

Reluctant though we are to sound a discordant note, we cannot pass the omission of the Lincoln collection of the Illinois State Historical Library without notice. The people of the state may be sure that this collection, their common possession, is inferior to none of those men-

tioned by Mr. Bennett, and in some respects superior to any of them.

On December 2, 1934, an ornamental fence around the graves of Thomas and Sarah Lincoln in the Gordon-Shiloh cemetery near Charleston, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Erection of the fence was made possible by the Kiwanis Clubs of the Illinois-Eastern Iowa district, and the presentation was made by Harold Ward of Chicago, the district secretary. The Rev. John T. Thomas, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, made the address of the occasion.

On November 15, 1934, a group of thirty people, consisting of members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and others interested in the history of southern Illinois, traveled over the trail followed by the Cherokee in their migration from Georgia to Indian Territory in 1838. The party crossed the Ohio at Golconda and followed State Route 146, which approximates the trail taken by the Indians. The Cherokee crossing is one of the most tragic and least-known episodes in the history of Illinois. The Daughters of the American Revolution are planning to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Cherokee migration in 1938, and this trip was in the nature of a preliminary investigation towards that end.

The Secretary takes pleasure in announcing that during the year 1934 the following persons were admitted to membership in the Illinois State Historical Society:

Bayard Baker	Pendleton, Indiana
W. E. Baringer	Urbana
Mrs. Lucy Bender.....	Urbana
George C. Burton	Chicago

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Paul G. Busey	Urbana
Ernest Elmo Calkins	New York City, N. Y.
Arthur W. Carlson	Glenview
Mrs. H. Eugene Chubbuck	Peoria
James F. Clark	Rantoul
Mrs. Sherman Clayton	Springfield
J. H. Cramer	Cleveland, Ohio
L. H. Dickmann	Covington, Ky.
LeRoy Fischer	Hoffman
Miss May S. Hawkins	Carbondale
Mrs. Lola Hederich	Springfield
B. F. Henderson	Georgetown
Robert J. Herschel	Peoria
Robert P. Howard	Springfield
Clyde H. Hunter	Quincy
Robert Knight	Chicago
Rev. George T. Lemmon	Chester, N. J.
Miss Louise E. Lewis	Springfield
Ralph G. Lindstrom	Los Angeles, Cal.
Dr. Arthur E. Lord	Plano
Henry E. Luhrs	Shippenburg, Pa.
Rev. Ira E. Lutz	Godfrey
Mrs. Alice Lygrisse	Wichita, Kansas
Kenneth McCullough	Wagoner
Bruce W. Merwin	Carbondale
Ford Messamore	Clifton
Dr. E. S. Murphy	Dixon
Lane K. Newberry	Downers Grove
Mrs. Henry E. Pond	Petersburg
H. M. Povenmire	Ada, Ohio
Marshall Solberg	Chicago
Mrs. Mack Taylor	Danville
Erma Trussell	Bluff Springs
C. G. Tyler	Dixon
Otto R. Unseitig	Chicago
Miss Nell Blythe Waldron	Bloomington
H. L. Wells	Evanston
S. A. Wetherbee	Springfield
Mrs. Louise Taylor White	Geneseo
Zenas H. White	Fair Haven, Vermont

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Miss Deloris Williams	Bismark
Mrs. Effie C. Williams	Danville
Otis Winn	Murphysboro
Mrs. C. M. Woods.....	Springfield

CONTRIBUTORS

Percival Graham Rennick is President of the Peoria Historical Society. Aubrey Starke resides in Centralia. Frank J. Heintz, of Jacksonville, is a frequent contributor to the Society's publications.

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